

INSIDE: The lonely struggle of the single parent

Maclean's

OCTOBER 15, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.50

Hong Kong's New Masters



**Peking decides the
colony's future**

**Canada reaps
a bonanza**

**Chinese leader
Deng Xiaoping**





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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COVER

The new masters of Hong Kong
 In the wake of Britain's agreement to transfer sovereignty of Hong Kong to China by 1997, residents of the bustling colony began to muse how their lives will be affected. And despite the resentment that many still harbor against the Communist government, most view the future with confidence. Canada, however, wants to attract serious investors. —Page 29

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A faltering search for peace
 As the war in El Salvador dragged on, the Contadora group was praised for its draft agreement on a Central American peace plan. But ratification was elusive. —Page 34



Parents without partners
 Family patterns have changed dramatically, and Ontarians from women on welfare to former prime minister Pierre Trudeau are raising children on their own. —Page 60



Migration to a wintry death
 At least 10,000 caribou drowned in the turbulent waters of a northern Quebec river last week—and angry Inuit are blaming Hydro-Québec for the disaster. —Page 34



Gossip from the capital
 Maureen McIvor and journalist Sandra Gwyn join Peter Gzowski on CBC Radio's *Maureen & Sandra* to reveal "inside" information on the Ottawa political scene. —Page 42

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Hong Kong's future

The agreement between China and Britain that will lead to the reunification in 1997 of the Communist Gist of Asia and the teeming colony of capitalism is one of those rare international events that sparks great hopes for mankind—and leave lingering uncertainties. Understandably, many of the 5.5 million residents of Hong Kong are uneasy at the prospect of submitting to the authority of Peking. The skeptics vividly recall that after the Communists took over Shanghai in 1949, persecution and frustration drove many ambitious residents of that city to flee to Hong Kong to rebuild their lives.



Doyle looking vitally

The former opium port has since developed into a bustling oasis of conventional consumer, thriving at the mercy of its people. Ironically, China's leadership appears to endorse the pragmatic aspirations of the colony. With \$4 billion worth of Hong Kong investments already in place, Peking has committed itself to allowing capitalism in Hong Kong at least until the year 2047 and to preserving individual rights.

When Senior Writer Ross Laver arrived in Hong Kong to report this week's cover story, edited by Associate Editor Jared Mitchell, he discovered that many citizens share a high degree of optimism about the future. Said Laver: "From the traders who work the city's free stock markets to the gamblers who play the horses at Happy Valley Race Track, Hong Kong has an exciting vitality that sometimes makes New York dull by comparison." Residents can only hope that the new spirit endures—after Peking takes full control.

Kevin Doyle

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PUT
YOUR RYE
HERE.

Are you
in a rut
with your
brand
of rye?

Maybe you should
reconsider your rye.
Especially if you order
the same brand, time
and again, automatically.

You may even think
the rye you're now
drinking is the best
Canadian you can buy.
But until you taste
Seagram's V.O., we feel
you'll never know which
is truly the finest.



Seagram's V.O.



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per year in advance, \$1605.00 per year in
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to 300,000 part-time students. In addition, there are more than 300,000 full-time community college students, a type of postsecondary student your article does not mention one. Although the article identifies the current issues in university education, the inaccuracy of the data used weakens the credibility of the statements made.

—ALEX VON DREHSELHAGEN,
President,
Canadian Society for the Study of
Higher Education,
Ottawa

An ambiguous glory

I object to Derrick or Kerckhove's ideas on the nuclear bomb ("The bright side of the nuclear bomb," Ideas, Aug. 27). If he thinks that the bomb promotes contrivance between the superpowers, who then were half the world's best athletes (coming from the Olympic Games in Los Angeles) try to tell him the fate of the 366 dead passengers of Korean Air Lines flight 007 that the nuclear bomb is "something to bring us together." The presence of nuclear threat creates a tension especially felt in Canada, the land separating the two superpowers and the seat in line in becoming a side-affected nuclear battleground after the first wave of United States and Soviet Union targets. Regarding the Kerckhove's statement that the atomic bomb is "The crowning glory of the Industrial Age" it is also the crowning play of the destructive age—Hiroshima, Nagasaki. M.S. Rees's remark ("On the bomb," Letters, Sept. 10) that the superpowers would strike under extraterrestrial attack falls quite short of reality. I would like to explain to a seven-year-old child that the missile site or nuclear reactor or bomb shelter in the backyard is there to protect us from Martians. I would not like to survive a nuclear war. We live in Kerckhove's world, so that he could bring us all together.

—JACOB A. LAMBERT,
Ottawa

Nominal changes

In your ethereal sloganeering article about the costs we taxpayers suffer—bummer the reforming arm strikes the scepters of St. Basil's Drive and Sherway ("The cost of feasting at home," Special Report, Sept. 17) you made a boo-boo. You refer to Joe Clark and Margaret McCrear as "the Clarks." Strictly, in this age in which more and more women choose to keep their own names after marriage (Maclean's) and other media can get it straight.

—ROBERT GATTEAU,
Kilomantic, N.B.

Since Maclean's is Canada's weekly newsmagazine, I think it should take the

responsibility of telling Canadians who our Prime Minister is. A minority of the media and TV people pronounce his name as Mulholland, which seems logical, but the majority says Mulrooney. We need a definitive name for our leader.

—ALLAN LEARY,
Kosho, Ont.

The Prime Minister's press officer, Lisa MacDonell, told Maclean's that the correct pronunciation of his name is Mulrooney.

Advice for columnists

In your Sept. 17 issue columnist Charles Gaudin missed a few points in his otherwise delightful "Some advice for back-benchers." Be bene, unsolicited, is some advice for a columnist from a brand-new back-bencher. Gaudin's lot of reporters have it. The first columnist who needs perfectionism deadline and not advice the new government gives a drink in the Press Club. Publicity what back-benchers get when they write letters to Maclean's.

—TED SCHOLLENBERG,
Back-bencher,
Newsmagazine,
Parkville, B.C.

An unnecessary barb

I have been a longtime reader and subscriber of your fine magazine. Like many other readers, I thoroughly enjoy Allen Fotheringham's column, despite his sometimes unnecessary barbs. However, this time he has gone too far. I refer to his Sept. 10 column, "The winning art of breaking," and his reference to army brats. As a former member of the RCAR and the father of four children, I take great exception to the use of this phrase which, I feel, casts a slur on children of military personnel. They deserve an apology.

—THOMAS BRYAN,
Bruden, Man.

A continuing commitment

An article in the Aug. 30 Maclean's entitled "The far industry under siege" (Wildlife) refers to the "failure" of the International Fund for Animal Welfare boycott of Canadian fish in Britain. The boycott is still very much alive and well in England. Press clippings each week attest to the energy and commitment of thousands of volunteers.

—DORIS HART,
Project Co-ordinator,
IFAW,
Abon, Al.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Mail Stop Number 5040, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

BY FOLLOW-UP

The retiring Jimmy Carter

By Lenny Glynn

Recently, Jimmy Carter's public and political appearances have become almost as rare as solar eclipses. He did endorse the Democratic presidential candidacy of his hand-picked former vice-president, Walter Mondale, at a Pines, Ga., barbecue in April. And he spoke briefly, to re-stimulated applause, at the Democratic party's in-state primary convention in July. But four years after his crushing defeat, the most remarkable fact about the former president in his virtual absence from U.S. politics—a vivid contrast to the ever-rising visibility of the country's other ex-presidents, the once-discounted Nixon and the genial Gerald Ford.

Stinging Republican attacks on the "weakness" and the "shame" of the Carter-Mondale years have marked this fall's presidential campaign, but the former president has yet to respond. He has a sense that he has become a political liability. Carter, 66, grants few inter-

views to the press and barbers considerable bitterness toward reporters, an contrast to President Reagan's easy mastery of the media. Indeed, in his 1980 memoir of his White House years, *Ringside Flash*, he betrays some of the deep personal wounds that explain that reticence.

Carter, whom many Democrats regard as a political liability, has removed himself from the U.S. political scene

One early chapter on his difficult relations with the nation's legislators is titled "My one-week honeymoon with Congress." Accounts of the Iranian hostage seizure and the latter 1980 intra-party challenge from Senator Ted Kennedy are entitled "A hard winter" and "Relinquishment."

Carter has not become a complete

recluse. He teaches courses in government and policy at Atlanta's Emory University and has organized a think tank there, the Carter Center, devoted to global issues. Last November, with Gerald Ford in cohort, Carter engaged and charmed a gruffing first-floor waiting-between-Israeli, Arab, American, European and Soviet experts at the center to discuss the Middle East, his most abiding interest. Such activities, he said, offer the most of my active life.

In a more characteristically low-key style, last month Carter joined a Georgia-based Christian group, Habitat for Humanity, for a trip to New York City to renovate a building in the city's Lower East Side, a skilled carpenter—he built most of his retreat log cabin on Walnut Mountain in Georgia and for himself he now makes furniture—Carter worked on the site for two weeks, including press conferences. Then he slipped away from the media capital of the United States virtually unnoticed.

The contrast between Carter's current withdrawal persona and the almost constant noise he brought to win the presidency in 1976 is startling. For nearly three years before his long shot victory over Ford, the one-time Georgia governor canvassed nearly every state in the United States, winning voters

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through face-to-face encounter. He promised a watershed bicentury in government after the Watergate scandal, a quest for peace and human rights abroad and a domestic program that blended such popular measures as tax reform with tight-fisted control on spending. He was a businessman, a farmer, a naval officer, a politician and a nuclear engineer. He was also a born-again Christian, whose gentle manner masked an ambition so intense that he rarely slept more than five hours a night during his drive for the White House.

Cartier's ambition for reform quickly

an altar of political realities. As soon as he took office in January, 1977, instead of signing a nearly completed arms treaty with Moscow, Carter dispatched his envoys with a new proposal for far deeper cuts in nuclear arms. The effort was to buffer the Soviets and delay the completion of SALT II negotiations until 1985, when the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan destroyed the treaty's prospects of being ratified. Similarly, within three months of taking office Carter attempted to pass a comprehensive energy bill aimed at reducing U.S. dependence on OPEC. Congress

eventually adopted much of that program. But overcoming the opposition of lobbyists, from gas station owners to automobile makers, cost Carter political advantage he could have used to meet the multiple crises of 1979-80. In concluding negotiations Carter forced oil prices down, a week dollar, raising interest rates, the Iranian hostage drama and, finally, Kennedy's attempt to smother him with his try for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The stress of these crises understandably aged Carter and demoralized him in his autobiography he confessed that yielding power to Reagan in 1980 was an "even happier" day than his own inauguration in 1977. To observers, Carter looks far better and more relaxed now.

One reason for Carter's new physical vitality is that he, unlike his more relaxed Californian successor, worked 16-hour days, immersing himself in the minutiae of policy—and taking full public responsibility when those policies failed. No American died in combat under his administration, but Carter tagged himself with an air of defeat by personally announcing to the nation the errors that cost eight servicemen's lives in the aborted attempt to rescue the 52 U.S. hostages in Tehran. By contrast, under Reagan's administration 255 servicemen died in terrorist attacks in Beirut, but when the time came for the United States to withdraw its armed forces from the Lebanese capital Reagan discreetly allowed a state department official to announce the move. Said New York Democratic activist and fund-raiser Howard Samuels: "Carter has gotten a fantastically bad rap. And he got it because he took all the responsibility on himself—even for things that were out of his control, like oil prices or the insanity in Tehran."

The same in U.S. political circles that the word Carter has become synonymous with failure may well yield to a more balanced view in coming years. Without Carter's political courage decisions to push for a Panama Canal treaty, the United States' troubles in Central America would almost surely be far graver. His achievements in pushing former leaders Anwar el Sadat of Egypt and Helmut Kohl of West Germany to sign a peace treaty remains the cornerstone of U.S. Middle Eastern policy.

In the long term, Carter's foreign policy gains seem certain to invite favorable reassessments from historians, although they will likely continue to view his domestic economic policy as thoroughly flawed. A more complete political re-emergence, even into the role of a senior statesman, may depend on Carter fully recovering from the wounds of defeat. He might then rekindle some of the energy and idealism that inspired voters in his 1976 campaign. ☐



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Diesel's faltering drive

In the mid-1970s the diesel engine, the workhorse of transport and industry, seemed poised to revolutionize the energy-conscious North American automobile market. Although European carmakers already enjoyed a lively demand for the efficient diesel, until then North American manufacturers had

showed them as too noisy, fuel-wasting and sluggish to satisfy Canadian and American buyers who wanted power and comfort. Soaring world gas prices and the development of lighter diesel engines that offered better mileage and lower operating costs caused North American motorists, and the industry,

to reconsider. By the late 1970s automakers predicted that in 1985 the diesel would have at least 25 per cent of the North American passenger car market. But as next year's models rolled into showrooms last month, it was clear that North American drivers had not embraced the diesel after all. Road Data (Bentley, an auto analyst at the New York-based brokerage house Diesel International Lambert Inc.) "A diesel for every driver is an idea whose time has passed."

Among the major North American car manufacturers, the giant General Motors Corp. made the greatest commitment to diesel. In response to the 1975 U.S. Energy Policy and Conservation Act that set tough new fuel efficiency standards to meet by 1985, GM introduced diesel engines on most of its new models. In 1977 GM engineering director Frank Fleck predicted: "The diesel may well be the only engine available as a full-size car by 1985. Now, although GM, Ford and American Motors continue to offer diesel engines in some of their models, North American-built diesel accounts for less than one per cent of total car sales. In Canada diesel made up only 1.8 per cent of Ford's total sales of 330,000 1984 models and less than one per cent of GM's sales of 325,000.

Initially, many consumers were attracted to the diesel because they were about 25 per cent more fuel efficient than gasoline engines and ran on less-expensive fuel. And although some diesel cost more than standard cars, they required less maintenance. But the difference in cost between gasoline and diesel fuel has narrowed. On average, regular leaded gasoline (which accounts for about half of Canadian gasoline sales) cost 46 cents a litre in the first six months of 1984, compared with diesel fuel at 44.2 cents a litre. Last year Chrysler Corp. abandoned its plans for a diesel engine plant in Windsor, Ont., saying that "with gas prices flat or drifting lower, there is little incentive for consumers to purchase diesel cars."

For their part foreign manufacturers have not been hurt by the North American diesel debacle. Volkswagen and Mercedes-Benz have both retained loyal customers for their diesel models. Soyl Volkswagen market analyst Douglas Stoddell: "Our reliability and fuel economy records are top. If people want a diesel, they come to us." But North American automakers insist that they will maintain their commitment to the diesel. GM spokesman Nick Hall: "We are still dedicated to the diesel. But clearly times have changed." And they could change again if gasoline prices soar—or if the most diesel-gasoline fuels currently being developed for diesel engines prove to be economical and efficient.

—ANN FRISVOLD

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The heartbreak motel

In 1963 federal Auditor General Kenneth Dye described an expenditure by the federal Department of Revenue's Bureau of Revenue (B.R.) as "spectacular laughing." Ronald Marshall, a high-ranking B.R. official, called it "an acute embarrassment," and a New Brunswick industrial commissioner, Richard Cormier, termed it "a mess to be avoided." The object of their scorn was the 36-room Riviera Motel in Truro, N.S., which closed down in August 1983, after passing through four owners and accumulating almost \$600,000 in losses. When the motel was built, most investors \$515,000 in loan guarantees in it, but eight years later the department failed to act when the Central Trust Co. of Montreal sold it to a local credit union for a mere \$200. But DYE's ineffectiveness in protecting the government's investment was just one in a series of painful events that has ultimately cost Canadians \$128,000.

The motel now stands deserted and abandoned on Route 11 in New Brunswick's northeast, its legal ownership in doubt. And, so far, none of the lawyers for any of the interested parties has managed to recover any of the \$600,000. Said one lawyer, Douglas Young: "It seems that what we have here is a Mexican standoff."

The saga began in 1925 when restaurateur Anthony Scellicone, then 35, built a 22-room motel with a \$308,000 mortgage from Central Trust—\$115,000 of it guaranteed by CTR. Now, Scellicone claims that the motel "was in trouble the minute it opened" because delays in securing CTR's approval delayed construction costs by \$150,000. But the motel showed modest profits through the late 1970s. But in 1980 business began to fall as competitors moved into the area and the North American economic recession sapped the tourism industry. By mid-1981 the motel was unable to meet payments for its bills.

In January, 1982, Central Trust advised Scellicone it was foreclosing, and two months later representatives of the trust company held a sheriff's auction in the motel dining room to dispose of the property. In attendance at the auction was Albert Robitshaw, then manager of the local credit union: Caisse Populaire de Truro, which was concerned about a \$75,000 second mortgage which Scellicone's business owed the union because no buyers came to the sale. Robitshaw's concerns proved short-lived. Ronald Scellicone: "Nobody came. The sheriff had to start. Robitshaw, on behalf of the caisse populaire, bought the motel for \$200."

The next day the caisse resold the

property for \$75,000—recovering both its loan and the motel purchase price—to a company called Tony's B-B-Q—owned by Ontario and African Kinsella, Scellicone's sister and brother-in-law Tony's B-B-Q, with Scellicone as manager, secured \$300,000 in new financing to make repairs to the motel and to finish a 16-room addition begun three years earlier. The lender was another Novato company, Stan-

dard Incos Inc. Ltd., operating out of the same building as Central Trust.

Under the Kinsella's ownership, business at the B-B-Q continued to decline, and by early 1983 they were looking for a buyer for their heavily indebted motel. In mid-August last year they appeared to have found one: German Belleville Inc., a nonprofit organization, was interested in acquiring the building for use as a home for senior citizens. Belleville's offer was simple: The nonprofit group would assume the motel's accumulated debt (more than



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\$500,000 owed to Standard Investment, the cruise populace, which had later loaned the Mirazolas a further undisclosed sum, the provincial government and various suppliers) in return for title to the property. The Mirazolas would get nothing. In mid-October the Mirazolas transferred the Riviera's title, and its debts, to Gaston Belletreille.

The arrangement began to unravel almost immediately when the New Brunswick government proved unwilling to provide the per capita operating subsidy that Gaston Belletreille had expected to receive in return for providing 4000 jobs for his new hotel and casino. Then, on Dec. 31, Dyl's report drew additional attention to the alleged royal and queen's indiscretions. Then, to Liberal MP Aileen Nicholson told a Commons committee investigating the sale last June that neither 1980 officials had not earned enough to alert a superior over the 1980 sale. Said Nicholson: "The senior officials' attitude is symptomatic of a pervasive problem in the public service—guiltiness. They did not see themselves as responsible."

Last February, Gaston Belletreille's lawyer, Douglas Baker, a former provincial Liberal leader, wrote letters to the motel's various creditors advising them that his client was dropping its purchase agreement and would not honor the Riviera's debts. Currently, the only financial settlement made regarding the motel is one reached in August between the federal government and Central Trust. In the out-of-court settlement, Central Trust agreed to repay the federal government, which had threatened to sue Central Trust, for \$100,000 of \$500,000 Ottawa had given it in mortgage loan guarantees for alleged improper procedures when liquidating the business. But property loans on the motel, amounting to almost \$100,000, remain unpaid.

The Riviera's various owners have been discussing themselves from litigation and financial conclusion. Settlements are ongoing at one restaurant in Truro and he is reluctant to talk about the motel. The Mirazolas returned to their native Italy last October. Gaston Belletreille owned operations in February. And the ownership of the Riviera Motel, not to mention its share of loans, is in a state of legal limbo.

Currently, the Riviers, determined and entangled to be worth less than \$200,000, stand in an uncertain state of close to \$500,000. Said Young: "Nobody would touch it now with a 100-foot pole." The courts will almost certainly decide the fate of the motel and the resolution of its accumulated debt. But for now, Canadian taxpayers are the real victims of a government investment that went sour. —Chris Woods in Fredericton.



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deputy state treasurer and a confidant of Brown. "We had gone for over a year without a balanced budget and without any plan. Brown did not want the true picture of our deficit known until after the November, 1980, Senate elections. He did not want to let the cat out of the bag."

Deukmejian's response to the deficit was an 18-month "recovery program" of striking austerity. He began by chopping \$1.1 billion from the budget that the Democrat-controlled legislature presented to him. While holding to his no-piggy bankist not to raise taxes, he enhanced state revenues by a further \$1 billion by closing tax loopholes and by changing fee structures like vehicle permits and university tuition. As well, Deukmejian turned down the Democrats' demand for new spending. Said the governor's assistant, press secretary, Kevin Bacht: "The governor drew a line in the sand. Day revenues in 1980-83 were to be \$22 billion, with projected increases for 1983-84 of \$23 billion." The Democrats wanted Deukmejian to increase taxes and spending but he held the line, saying the extra billion saved would "retire the deficit." Faced with a painful economic crisis that demanded quick resolution, the Democrats reluctantly agreed.

Deukmejian's economic program has two detractors. Critics condemn him for his drastic cutbacks in such social services as the home meal program for ill senior citizens and the worker health and safety enforcement program. Others charge that one person's "revenue enhancements" may be another person's tax increase. An estimated \$18 million came to the state's coffers from a tax on home video rentals, changes in vehicle license fees brought in another \$10 million, a change in property tax-assessment rules yielded a whopping \$290 million. The governor also increased student fees at California's public universities and colleges and, for the first time ever, imposed nation dues at community colleges. Robert Farberbuck, editor of California Journal, an influential monthly magazine on state politics and government, claims that some of those fee increases are really higher taxes. Said Farberbuck: "The adjustment of automobile license fees was as obvious increase in taxes, especially in this state, where you cannot live without an automobile. In fairness, though, when most people think of taxes, they think of corporate or sales taxes, and he did not raise those."

Deukmejian's adept performance won him the praise of the state's fiscal conservatives, including that of the crusty Howard Jarvis, best-known for authoring California's Proposition 13, a law that in 1978 strictly limited the local

"A Heineken: that's exactly what I had in mind."



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property taxes, municipalities and school districts could oppose. Stud Jarvis, "Every promise Deshaenjan makes he keeps—you do not find that many politicians with that much guts." But the governor's relationship with the state legislature remains troubled. The Democrats are firmly in control of both the state senate and assembly—as they were during Brown's administration. Deshaenjan comes out of the same conservative mould as one of California's earlier governors, Ronald Reagan, and he is gaining a similar reputation as a deficit heater, a budget slacker and an

opponent of liberal policy on environmental and social issues. According to most Democrats, Deshaenjan has undervalued or reversed liberal initiatives on welfare, medical care, air quality standards, toxic waste control and alternative energy development. John Yantosho, a leading Democratic legislator, says, "With a \$31-billion budget, you'd think California could afford to fund water and air environmental protection. The governor's cuts in our water protection program will mean reducing the testing of drinking water supplies."

The majority members of the legislature, disgruntled by a governor who shares their liberal political persuasion, in January, 1984, refused to approve Deshaenjan's appointment of his proposed finance director, Michael Fioravanti. They also withheld the funds that would allow the governor and his family to move into a new governor's residence. Indeed, only some of the governor's programs have survived the legislature's vote, since its members reluctantly agreed to pass his austerity measures in January last year. Said one legislature staff member, "Deshaenjan could not get a Mother's Day resolution passed here. His attitude in that the legislature is both corrupt and irrelevant, and he will be swept out of office. His staff is incredibly arrogant." David Roberts, a Democrat from Hollywood and the Senate pre-ten president, who has been leading his party's battle with Deshaenjan, accused the governor of "a dictatorial approach in adapting programs that does not leave any room for public debate." Added Roberts, "He does not want to compromise. He just insists that we surrender." As well, Roberts maintains that the governor's budget cuts go far beyond the need for fiscal prudence.

In spite of the setbacks in social programs he has initiated, Deshaenjan remains popular with the public, who apparently perceives him as a good manager of the state's resources during troubled economic times. For California that represents a clear move to the political right and a return to traditional values. According to *California Journal's* Fairbanks, "The people of California got tired of flailing with new ideas and looking for the promised land. You do not get the sense that Deshaenjan is a gadfly, that he has any broad vision to create something new. Instead, he pursues the old, solid virtues—jobs, security, a chicken in every pot."

The rapid turnaround in California's finances has also greatly reinforced Deshaenjan's stature on the national political stage. Two prestigious magazines, *Forbes* and *Time*, have praised his no-nonsense approach to politics. At the Republican National Convention in Dallas in August, Deshaenjan played a prominent role. Republicans quietly mentioned his name as a possible presidential or vice-presidential candidate in the 1988 election, unless Reagan appoints Deshaenjan—a former California attorney general—to the U.S. Supreme Court first.

If, as political analysts believe, California is a harbinger of sentiments and attitudes that will soon be popular in the rest of the United States, Deshaenjan's rising star suggests that the American conservative movement has yet to reach its zenith. ☐

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ban of disallowing the agreement with the other three members by failing to reimburse a local newspaper report (asking him to Garry The Grounds Gazette, the island's main daily newspaper, had reported that Garry and White held talks on a possible alliance).

Another threat from the left is emerging from remaining pro-Bishop members of the New Jewel Movement who also have their sights on power. Bishop loyalists and former cabinet ministers Kenneth Radin, Leeson and Lydie Rosemberg are among the prominent signatories of the Maurice Bishop

Patristic Movement, which has announced that it will participate in the election. Political observers give it little chance. Said Alastair Hughes, a journalist and political commentator based in St. George's: "We cannot afford to go back five years to Bishop's era. We must forge ahead and make a new start with a new government and, for the sake of peace, not one formed by Garry."

Since the invasion the United States has invested millions of dollars in economic assistance, including money to complete an international airport at Point Salazar—a project that Grenada

began in 1973 with Cuban aid. The Americans contended that the project was part of a Cuban attempt to set up a military base on the island, which the Soviet Union could also have used. Shortly after the invasion the Americans started approximately 800 Cuban workers and military advisers on the island, and the Reagan administration now considers the airport to be one means of improving Grenada's ailing economy. After the invasion Grenada's tourist industry virtually collapsed. The instability of the last two years of Bishop's increasingly harsh and leftist-oriented reign discouraged Americans—the backbone of the industry—from visiting. As a result, the Grenadians regard the airport as vital to the recovery of the island's economic morass—the space made in extreme prices and circumstances—which a 1980 decline in world prices nearly ruined.

The Americans are still very visible on the island. They have opened a large embassy at what was once the luxurious oceanfront Roneyport resort hotel. As well, they retain some 250 military policemen and other support personnel who, according to diplomatic sources in Washington, oversee the island's nine-member interim government. Moderates on the island have welcomed the brief era of calm since the U.S. invasion, but the New Jewel Movement is annoyed at the extent of the U.S. involvement in Grenadian affairs. Said Leeson: "The Americans have occupied this island. They make all the decisions. They want a puppet regime."

The United States has clearly made an effort to strengthen its influence in the Caribbean through its involvement in Grenada. Washington contributed more than \$11 million to the completion of the airport as part of a \$57-million overall economic aid package to the island. The Canadian government contributed roughly another \$6 million to the airport project. Since some 30 per cent of Grenada's labor force is out of work and there are no unemployment benefits, the need for investment from abroad is acute. Only the injection of mainly U.S. capital during the past nine months has kept the island's economy from plunging. But while both local and foreign investors have expressed interest in Grenada, few new investments have been forthcoming. Most potential investors seem to prefer to wait for the airport's completion and the installation of an elected government before starting up any projects. Their reluctance might prove prudent. If Garry's party gains re-election on Dec. 8, the island may face a lengthy—and potentially turbulent—period of adjustment.

With Don Robinson in Grenada.



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B.C.'s quiet struggle

By Jane O'Hara

For four turbulent months last autumn Operation Solidarity was a powerful force on the political landscape of British Columbia. The organization, a broad-based coalition of labor unions and community and social

groups, spearheaded public protest against the July 7, 1985, provincial budget which drastically reduced social services and severely diminished the powers of public sector trade unions. Claiming that it represented 550,000 people, Solidarity staged one of the largest mass protests in the history of the

province. Since then, the group has lost much of its momentum and has faced down its critics from Premier William Bennett's Social Credit government. At its first anniversary celebration of the controversial budget last summer, Solidarity's new, less confrontational approach was clearly evident. Instead of staging a protest march with pickets and angry slogans, the group held a picnic with balloons and a birthday cake. Only 2,000 people attended. But Art Kake, president of the B.C. Federation of Labor and a co-chairman of Solidarity, expects claims that the organization is a spent force. Declared Kake: "We are just preparing for a second wind."

Within weeks of its founding on Aug. 3, 1985, Solidarity staged a series of rallies which attracted as many as 50,000 people at one time. The target of their protest was Bennett's far-reaching legislative program 26 bills that proposed, among other changes, a 25-per-cent reduction in the civil service and the elimination of the human rights commission and the rent control board. As well, last Nov. 3 the group orchestrated a series of escalating strikes that began with 35,000 provincial government workers walking off the job. A week later 28,500 teachers, 4,000 college and university staff, 14,000 school support staff and 4,000 members of Crown corporations followed the first strikers. Solidarity threatened to expand the strikes provincewide starting Nov. 23, but an agreement reached that very day between Bennett and Solidarity leaders, by which the premier agreed to postpone his threatened mass firings of civil servants, averted that confrontation. Still, the populist movement promised that it would continue its fight against what its members called an unconscionably harsh restraint program.

In recent months Solidarity has adopted new tactics in this fight. Instead of mounting street protests, the group's leaders are trying to expand their power base for future negotiations with the government by organizing support for labor disputes. Its budget last year was slightly more than \$1 million. So for this year the group has collected \$400,000 from its members. Solidarity now has a full-time co-ordinator, Larry Kuehn, who was coiled the end of June the high-profile president of the B.C. Teachers' Federation. It was Kuehn who led the striking teachers on the picket line last October. Said Kuehn: "At the outset we were involved in mass actions. Now we are trying to build structures and networks organically."

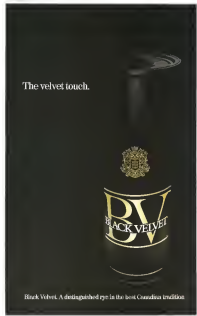
As well, Solidarity is seeking other ways—organizing local workshops to provide community support services, for instance—to both convey its message to government and improve the situation

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3. Peter: Right. And Tegrin also helps control that itchy scalp that used to annoy me.

Me: Agais, it shows Tegrin gets your scalp really clean.



4. Me: I'm going to give Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo a try myself!

Peter: You should try the herbal scent. Works just as hard as regular Tegrin to get your hair and scalp really clean.

of those most hurt by cutbacks is social services. Rexine Stewart, a co-chairman of the Solidarity Coalition, said, "This was one of the original goals when Solidarity was formed—that we could develop alternatives."

One of Solidarity's most ambitious projects is the \$70,000 People's Commission—a four-person committee that is travelling throughout British Columbia until Dec. 14 to hear briefs from community groups and individuals detailing how government restraint measures have affected their regions in such areas as jobs and education. The People's Commission is unlikely to attract the same media attention as a mass rally, but organizers view it as an important part of Solidarity. Sam Ray, Margaret Marquardt, an Anglican minister who is a commission member, along with Toronto economist Mel Watkins, Jane Rouns of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women and Raymond Haynes of the B.C. Nurses' Union. "Our aim is to write a report and not have it shelved. I would hope that the government would realize that it must mean people across the province are speaking out."

Almost all the economic indicators in British Columbia have worsened since Bennett brought in his restraint budget with the promise that it would lead the province out of a stubborn recession. Just before the introduction of Bennett's budget, unemployment was at 13.5 per cent. Now, it stands at 14.7 per cent. The government had predicted a three-per-cent growth rate, but last July the Conference Board of Canada reported that the economy—the total output of goods and services—will in fact shrink by 3.1 per cent, compared to an expected growth rate nationally of three per cent this year. As well, retail spending in the province is down and sales tax revenue fell by \$15 million in the 1983-84 fiscal year. And, while the number of bankruptcies in the rest of Canada dropped by 34.3 per cent in a one-year period ending last May, British Columbia saw an increase of 10.9 per cent.

Critics of Solidarity maintain that the organization never really accomplished much by challenging the government with Arthur Jaffe Martin, president of the Employers' Council of British Columbia, says that Solidarity's activities constituted a form of anarchy and "that there was a victory for the regular process of government." For their part, Solidarity's leaders insist that, in time, their group's new low-key approach will provide a more effective means of pressuring government actions. And they promise that while Solidarity may become quieter, it will not remain silent.

With Denise Leachman in Vancouver

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FOLLOW-UP

Encore for Mort Sahl

By Rita Christopher

Thirty years ago, from the stage of San Francisco's hungry i club, political satirist Mort Sahl's rapid-fire monologues shocked world figures such as the Queen and President Dwight Eisenhower. Sahl was then one of North America's giants of comedy. His characterization of Werther von Braun, the brilliant rocket scientist who emigrated to the United States from Germany at the end of the Second World War and masterminded the early American space program, has become part of American folklore. Parodying von Braun's obsession with space, Sahl said, "Werther von Braun shot for the moon, but he hit London." Now, after spending 17 years out of the limelight, Sahl, 55, is making a comeback. He has become a weekend fixture at The Improvcomics, a Los Angeles comedy club. As well, he tours major North American cities. Sahl takes pride in his durability. Said he, "I think I am the only one of my generation and style of comedian—and I go back 37 years in this business—still doing live performances."

A fascination with the headlines sidelined Sahl's successful career. He curtailed his stage appearances to work closely on the controversial investigation that former New Orleans district attorney James Garrison launched into the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy, in which Garrison alleged CIA complicity. Because of that the conservative world labelled the comedian too hot to handle.

Sahl, who has made half a dozen comedy specials for cable telecasts over the past year and written scripts for the major U.S. networks and motion picture companies, remains sensitive to the charge that his political activism undermined his career. But what seems to disturb him most is the suggestion that audiences no longer want to hear his brand of wit. In fact, Sahl will elicit enthusiastic responses from people too young to remember his glory days.

He is currently developing his act on the ongoing U.S. presidential campaign. Decried Sahl about the Democratic party ticket, "Ed Geraldine Ferraro is running with Walter Mondale, who says women still don't get all the dirty jokes." Clearly, 37 years in one of the world's most punishing professions has not blunted the sharp edge of Sahl's wit. ☐



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Feminism revised

When Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique* 30 years ago, that landmark book became a catalyst for the emerging women's movement of the 1960s. With it she established herself as the pre-eminent spokeswoman for North American feminists. In 1969 Friedan founded the U.S.

National Organization for Women (NOW), the largest feminist organization in North America, with more than 250,000 members. Now she is turning her attention to people's noddle to help years. In a new book she's currently working on, tentatively titled *The Fountain of Age*, Friedan, 63, challenges the

myths generally associated with the decline of youth. Maclean's correspondent Charlie Gossard interviewed Friedan in her New York apartment overlooking Central Park.

Maclean's: What were the major psychological events of the women's movement during the 1960s and 1970s?

Friedan: The women's movement has been the most marvellous movement for social change in the past half-century. It moved women to the affirmation of their personhood. It changed the consciousness of women and of everybody else. It gave us new opportunities, our own voice in every field and profession; women are now beginning to make themselves heard. It broke through the barriers of sex discrimination.

Maclean's: How much tolerance exists?

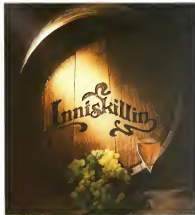
Friedan: There is indeed a lot of tolerance. But there is a lot more than just tolerance going on now. For instance, women used to make up two to four per cent of the students at law or medical schools. Women in Canada and in the United States now make up 35 to 40 per cent of all law and medical school enrolment. I recently lectured at a Jesuit university in California where women made up 50 per cent of the law school enrolment. Law is often the last way into politics and business. For the new generation of women reaching maturity that is a lot more than mere tolerance; it's opened out as tolerance, but it is becoming less so. There are real changes in any field you look at. In the area of religion, for instance, women are now ministers, rabbis and, sooner or later, they will be priests in the Roman Catholic Church. In theological schools women comprise 80 per cent of the class. In the second stage of the women's movement (that we are entering) I hope that women will not have to just "share the rules" of the aggressive male game in business and in government to get ahead, but that they will request a more humanistic role.

Maclean's: In Canada, women played 40 hours at about 30 per cent in many rural areas and at around 20 per cent in the cities. When a Canadian woman has a chance to gain employment, she will likely seize the opportunity, even if it is at a lower salary than she feels she is worth. She is suitably to question what efforts it will have on the solidarity of women.

Friedan: Economic survival is the important thing for women. And the survival of life.

Maclean's: Is there a tendency toward conservatism and regression within the feminist movement as German writer Gertrude Leach, *See and Destroy, Love After Black, Indifference?*

Friedan: I have not read her book. I have only read some comments on the book, and her book sounds a little extreme. Of



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source, she is an interesting person but she does tend to be a little egotistical. She is a very vital person. I have a feeling that, if I read the book, some of it would be brilliant and a lot I would not agree with. In the first stage of feminism, we did what we had to do and there is no going back on it. But for some, the feminism of the 1960s was a little extreme. Now, there is new articulation of values. So it is like theory, analysis and synthesis. It is an evolution, not a new conversation.

Maclean's: How do you view that evolution?

Friedman: Now, the woman is not just a servant to the family but, from the strength from her new personhood, she re-emphasizes certain aspects that link her to the tradition of women. But the pattern is different. The personhood of women includes the expression of the maternal instincts. Part of the personhood of women is expressed in nurture. We have a choice now. We can express it in nurture of our own children or we can express it in other ways.

Maclean's: What are your current concerns for women?

Friedman: I have not turned my back on the question of women's rights. Politically, I am still very involved in that. Now what I am interested in is that stage in life beyond the years of parenting that is an unknown territory. There



Friedman: Time will live longer if they are not saddled with so many burdens.

is an enormous commercial industry based on denying age or the false assumption that you can stay forever young. Who has ever looked at what really happens to people as they reach a certain freedom from role determina-

tants? Feelings of dislike or wrath over me as I have genuine expectations about the aged with the same patronizing "non-paternalist" denial of their personhood that I heard when experts talked about women 20 years ago.

Maclean's: What do you see on the future for women and men in the social politics of the 1990s and 2000s? Or is the term social politics itself becoming obsolete?

Friedman: Social politics as a term will disappear. At least, I hope it does. I do not see so much hostility between men and women now. In order to have a home today, it takes two incomes. So values are changing. To have a child today means that both parents need to be actively involved. As we emerge in the second stage of the women's movement, values of commitment, of love, of choice become liberating forces for families, even though that makes things more complicated. Basically, there is a liberation of love and friendship is the affirmation of the personhood of women and in the lifting of certain burdens from men. Men will live longer if they are not saddled with so many burdens.

Maclean's: What new battles lie ahead for women?

Friedman: Now that economic necessity dictates that most women must continue to work after they become mothers, someone is going to have to battle in a new and serious way for institutions that will help the new family integrate. Thinking should be done about maternity and paternity leave, time off for parents when their children are ill, parental subventions, daycare, job-sharing and child care supports that do not cost more.

COLUMN

When a yawn becomes a headline

By Charles Gordon

Not so long ago, when dances were open day and night on street corners across North America and people loved to dress up all night and dance and dance while they admired themselves in the mirrors placed there for their viewing pleasure—around that time the only editor of a large newspaper opened up a meeting with reporters by newspaper story on what was going on in elementary schools. Eyes glazed over, yawns were suppressed and the city editor suddenly realized that he was the only person in the room who had children.

Just the other day there was another gathering of reporters and editors, a social one, and this time there were babies all over the place—babies in the playground, in the living room, in the kitchen, in the bedrooms' areas or their fathers, walking around, eating, purring. Several other babies would be born soon to people at the party. The talk was of babies and eyes did not glass over.

It is not a new discovery that most babies are being born to couples in their early to mid-30s. But the possible consequences have not been examined much. The change in attitudes toward children may not be enough to bring about a new baby boom. But it is far more than a fad and it will make a difference in the family society. The different society could be a better one.

A baby boom in the newness of the nation is not exactly a major social upheaval. But it will make a small difference and reflect a larger one. Aside from the major headlines, the Canadian media have, in the past eight or nine years, paid much attention to the things people can buy. The news pages have been full of real estate, holidays, retirement, death, the education system, crime, moralism, alcoholism, stress, vice, cosmetics, male and female, and, of course, food. Restaurant reviews, recipes, cookbooks, cookbook bestsellers, kitchen gadgets, kitchen gadget stars, wines, salads, chicken reflect a society that says, shove all, feed me, buy something.

New this society, or at least the 30-year-old portion of it, has other things to think about. It has discovered children, and the media will show it. There will be some excess, already has been, just as the kids of the 1960s thought they had invented sex, as the "yuppies" of the 1980s think they have invented children. New experts have emerged to say that

fathers first began to lose their children some time in 1960, probably in late spring. Soon we will learn that babies have begun, for the first time in history, to stand up and walk. And we may also have to suffer through an explosion of baby boutiques, baby fitness centres and baby salad bars.

Never mind. We will have to put up with the new media bills in the hope that it heralds a safer society. And it should.

North American society seemed to tire of children in the past decade or so. Maybe it was all that protest and noisy may. Maybe potential parents became convinced that they would not be good ones. For whatever reason, adults turned inward, to coffee, drinkables, conversation, to a narcissistic obsession with fitness and appearance, to eating to live, dressing to win, thinking to win, to an unlimited variety of state-of-the-art "parental fulfillment," "self-

The new generation of 30-year-olds will give a damn about its kids and forsake the glitter of the disco for a diaper

tainment" and "getting in touch with your feelings." While they did this, young adults chased children as a hindrance to a rich and rewarding personal lifestyle. Young adults became reluctant taxpayers—some at least were perceived to be—by governments. Governments, fearing that the taxpayer's highest goal was to keep his money, held the line, turned strict, particularly in high-cost areas such as education.

The post-war baby boom was one and so was the education system. Governments demand funding formulas designed to save money. Funding formulas were, at the local level, turned into staffing formulas. Staffing formulas justified full-lighting. If there were 60 students in Grade 7, there would be two teachers. If there were 66, there would be one Barry, kid. It's the formula. If there were 800 students in a high school, it would stay open; if there were 799, it would close, or it would lose teachers and courses. Tough talk. Kid. We have a decision to think about. School districts mount greater distances to travel, less chance to participate in school activities, a loss of the school's

neighborhood identity. But it was a sacrifice the taxpayer seemed prepared to make.

Universities, equally formula-ridden, found their funding drying up, and scramble to find a way to survive. With dollars, to least maintain in the hope of attracting larger grants. When demand for university places suddenly increased as the result of a dwindling job market, the cost of education was forced to rise. Tuition was higher, their diminished facilities unable to handle growth. Meanwhile, both the university and the community around it were unable or unwilling to provide places for students to live—not enough residences, boarding houses, affordable off-campus accommodation. And the economy stopped providing the summer jobs that financed university education in the past.

The plight of students caused little public concern, not from adults, anyway. Kids, of whatever age, have not mattered much lately. And they must know it. It would be difficult for them to escape the conclusion that society has given up on them—that there isn't a whole lot of room in staying hard, training for a job or even, in the worst case, obeying the rules laid down by an uncaring adult society.

Ironically, the same economic difficulties that have atomized the family unit can have more young people as job-conscious than they are peering at the increasingly higher horizons of the universities. The universities in turn are being urged to become training schools, and the idea of education for its own sake is a fading casualty.

Now, however, there are babies and as they grow their parents will look around to see what society is offering. They will feel out that society is not offering very much. They will demand more services, more money. Presumably, day care, better access to universities. They will wonder why the only recreation available for the kids is hanging around shopping centres.

This generation of 30-year-olds may not dream as well as the previous one. They may not sit in so many cozy little restaurants. It will be home looking after the kids. It may not go to the disco and dance and dance. But it will give a damn about its children. The disco has closed down, spraying and spraying about elementary schools may be written yet.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

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Migration to a watery death

By Andrew Nikiforuk

Biologist Stuart Lattich was part of a team of Quebec and Labrador wildlife officials which was routinely tagging 60 caribou of the George River herd. The animals were moving along northern Quebec's Canapissicu River on their annual westward migratory route to their mating grounds, and the team was implanting tiny radio transmitters which enable biologists to monitor the herd's activity. When Lattich and his colleagues saw the first corpses floating past, the team began to investigate by airphoto. Flying over a carcass crossing just above Limestone Falls on the fast-flowing Canapissicu, the team saw thousands of dead animals strewn along the banks. The sight, said Lattich, had "a devastating effect on the river."

As many as 10,000 migrating caribou perished trying to cross the swollen river. Part of a starving herd estimated at 400,000, the drowned and trampled victims represented "a major environmental catastrophe," according to the Audubon Society. The animals have long served as a source of food, medicines and utensils for native peoples. Now, the corpses pose a pollution threat to water supplies and fish.

Some observers charged that the devastation was one that automobile have continuously warned would result from the careless excesses of technology into fragile northern environments. Some Inuit and biologists in the region blamed proximately owned Hydro-Québec for raising the river level through dam spillways—and for having ignored in the past the effect of such action. "This is one of the things we were afraid of," declared Mark Gordon, vice-president of Makivik Corp., which represents Inuit in their dealings with the Quebec utility. "We've tried again and again to negotiate with Hydro-Québec, but when they meet, they sit with a table full of engineers and officials and they tell us not to worry, they are improving the environment." Hydro-Québec denied responsibility. Said company spokesman Jean-Guy Gauthier: "We are spilling less water than nature would."

By week's end officials were still piecing together details but they acknowledged that the powerful current had swept away both the strong and the weak, the calves and the mature bulls. Scrambling animals were swept down-



That sawing off the antlers of mangled caribou: a scene of savagery that had "a devastating effect on the herd."

stream and over the 60-foot-high Limestone Falls. Survivors limped away on the opposite shore with broken legs and antlers. By mid-week, corpses littered the river banks over a 25-km stretch of the river. In one small cove, Lattich found 2,000 dead caribou.

Wildlife officials and Inuit hunters—about 4,000 caribou are killed every year to help feed about 5,500 Inuit in northern Quebec—joined in efforts to prevent more caribou from dying and to clear the dead from the river. When officials and Inuit reached the area they began work on a makeshift, 1.6-km barrier of rope and barbed wire that they hoped in erect to persuade stragglers remaining in the area to cross elsewhere. Hunters also posted themselves near the falls to fend off approaching herds.

While Inuit hunters struggled to haul the dead caribou away from the river, southern businessmen sought to capitalize. Descending on the nearby community of Kuujuaq is rented helicopters, they bargained with Inuit leaders to buy the carcasses for processing into dog food and fertilizer, or, in another case, to buy the dead animals'

antlers for jewelry and decorations. Declared Mark Gordon: "The two-legged scavengers from the south have been moving in faster on the caribou carcasses than our Arctic team, with all kinds of hare-brained schemes."

The fatal crash occurred at a point on the Canapissicu at which it narrowly narrows from a half-mile in width to less than a quarter-mile. This year, the feeding spot on the river was neither

shallow nor safe. During September the area received twice its average rainfall. As well, Hydro-Québec had been opening and closing spillways all summer at the Canapissicu Reservoir, 400 km upstream. When residents of Kuujuaq realized that the river had risen by two feet late last month, they called Hydro-Québec and asked the company to slow down the flow. Hydro-Québec responded by partially closing one of the two spillways on Sept. 29. At a Montreal news conference last week, Hydro officials attributed "the unfortunate incident" to heavy rainfall.

Inuit leaders and environmentalists disagreed. Said Théo Klentz, a regional councillor: "We are not scientists, but we know what's going on here. This has never happened before." Biologists in the past have reported hundreds of caribou deaths during river crossings, but never thousands. Said Doug Elwood, a caribou biologist who keeps track of the size and well-being of caribou herds in the Northwest Territories: "I don't know of anything that compares to what happened in Quebec."

With correspondents' reports





Guy and Mulroney: a new Tory doctrine sweeps 'the things of the public service' and fails at Liberal in-fighting

Getting a grip on the bureaucrats

By Carol Gear

As external affairs minister in Joe Clark's short-lived Conservative government five years ago, Flora Macdonald learned a hard lesson. She learned that her effectiveness as a minister was undermined by powerful civil servants who withheld information and gave one-sided advice. Last week Prime Minister Brian Mulroney made it clear that he shares Employment and Immigration Minister Macdonald's conviction that ministers should be the masters of their officials. After naming 55 of Ottawa's top bureaucrats to his boardroom for a 45-minute session, Mulroney told reporters that there would be "substantial changes" and that some Liberal appointments would be "asked to leave in short order."

The first firm evidence of the expected Conservative shake-up in the public service—despite previous damage to a "hit list"—came during a week when the

Tories and the two opposition parties prepared for the convening of the 33rd Parliament on Nov. 5 and the traditional speech from the throne outlining government legislative plans. Mulroney announced that, after consulting Liberal Leader John Turner and New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent, he will nominate Tory John Bosley, 31, for the Toronto riding of Don Valley West since 1978, as Speaker to preside over the new House of Commons. In largely routine political lipplay, the defeated Liberals questioned the government's implementation of a one-percentage-point increase in federal sales taxes Oct. 1 without parliamentary approval.

The confrontation between Mulroney and the mandarins took place in the Prime Minister's personal fourth-floor headquarters in Ottawa's Langevin Block, across the street from the Parliament Buildings. Afterwards, the 36 deputy ministers, 14 assistant deputy ministers

and 11 heads of government agencies and Crown corporations filed out in grim silence. Mulroney told reporters that in addition to making changes within the existing bureaucracy, his government would actively recruit "new blood and new people" from the private sector.

The Prime Minister said that frugal, transfer and early retirements should be expected but he cautioned that he was not embarking on a "witch-hunt." He added that competent senior bureaucrats had nothing to fear. He cited Deputy Finance Minister Marshall (Mickey) Cohen as one whose competence had won him a place in the Tory routine.

But Mulroney showed no such sympathy for what he called "the things of the public service"—roughly 1,200 individuals whom the Liberals appointed to quasi-independent Crown corporations, federal boards and government agencies. "They're all over the place," he said. "We've got them coming out of the

office and the windows." Those placed on the fringes through Liberal patronage might expect to be dismissed next, he declared. Among the recent lobby candidates for early removal: former Liberal cabinet minister and outgoing Conservative Joe Clark, who heads the Federal Grain Transportation Agency; Joel Bell, president of the Canada Development Investment Corp., whose former chairman, Maurice Strong, resigned last month; and CIBC chairman Pierre Javies, another former Liberal cabinet

officer—the talent pool from which Mulroney will pick about a dozen new deputy ministers. Later, all members of Mulroney's shadow cabinet were told to assess Ottawa's top mandarin. For the most part, according to a senior Mulroney aide, Conservative MPs were timid and wary in their appraisals. But White's committee conducted a thorough and painstaking analysis.

That committee's advice formed the basis for last week's meeting between Mulroney and the bureaucrats. Many of



Turner with wife, Gail, returning to Ottawa: shadowing his Tory choice was one of Mulroney's most industrial—and controversial—mandates

attorney. And, in the wake of Mulroney's warnings, former Liberal cabinet minister Jean-Pierre Gauthier resigned as chairman of Canada Lands Corp. (Marshall Ltd., citing policy differences with the Tory government over the agency's disposal of surplus land expropriated for Montreal's Mirabel Airport in 1960).

Two bureaucrats were surprised by Mulroney's message. The meeting was merely a stage in the civil service devised by the transition team that the Tory leader appointed more than a year ago. A committee of senior backroom Conservatives was formed for the purpose under Peter Wilton, a Mulroney disciple at Laval University and a director of Research in Council of Canada in 1978 and who served a three-year term in Paris as chief economist of the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development, and Robert Walkenovich, deputy minister of communications, who formerly served as one of Trudeau's cabinet secretaries. In addition to being a firm hand with the reformed bureaucracy, the Mulroney government aims to strengthen ministerial power by re-

instating a new level of aides known as chiefs of staff. Part of their role will be to ensure that civil government policy decisions. They can be paid as much as \$60,000 a year, a range that permits the hiring of more experienced personnel than was possible under any previous government. In the last administration a senior aide—now a senior aide—earned a maximum of \$40,000. Although some were found in the past to supplement that salary from departmental or Commission funds, a number of Mulroney's transition team noted that "if we could get for that price were kids fresh out of Queen's and Dalhousie."

Under the new policy, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark recruited assistant John White, a former chief journalist and communications director of the Conservative party, to run his office. Deputy Prime Minister Brian Nielsen signed on Peter Harder, who served as Clark's chief of staff when he was Prime Minister and later became a key member of the Mulroney transition team. And Secretary of State Walter Mathias hired Glen Wright, the president of a Waterloo, Ont., actuarial and pension consulting firm. "With people like these in ministerial offices, it's perfectly clear where the buck stops," said one of the architects of the new staffing plan.

After Turner returned from his two-week Bermuda vacation last week, aides presented him with a list of 100 that matched the 40 members of the Liberal caucus to the portfolio in Mulroney's 40-member cabinet. Turner planned to announce his choices in an address following a Liberal caucus before Parliament convenes. The only position filed officially, cabinet veteran Herb Gray as Opposition House leader, the Liberal counterpart of Government House Leader Rex Houten in directing party tactics and negotiating the Commons agenda.

In the meantime, there were signs that the new Tory broom may be wielded on the grounds of Parliament as well as inside it. For the past 18 months a bearded orange beard, the great beard of the Prime Minister has sheltered a band of dedicated protesters who oppose the leasing of U.S. cruise missiles over Canadian territory. Several of Mulroney's ministers have said that they consider the text an offense. And Mulroney himself jokingly suggested that he would name two of his most right-wing ministers, Nielsen and Regional Industrial Expansion Minister Sinclair-Stevens, to consider the fate of the encampment. Said former Prime Minister: "The government doesn't underestimate the story behind the peace sign." Then the young protesters, like dozens of the capital's more powerful residents, hurried down to avert Mulroney's verdict.

With Carolyn Carroll in Ottawa

Harder: a former head



A murder case goes public

For months, the trial, billed as the most sensational in a century, has been the recurring subject of gossip and grant for rumor mills throughout Saskatchewan. Next week proceedings will open in the case of Colin Thatcher, a 45-year-old oilfield engineer and former cabinet minister who is the son of the late Saskatchewan premier Ross Thatcher. He is charged with the first-

degree murder of his ex-wife, JoAnn Thatcher, who was strangled to death in Regina, Saskatchewan, Nov. 15, 1984, after the discovery of his ex-wife's bloody corpse.

The case combines the elements of a high-society tragedy and a painful family breakdown. Four years ago the rich rancher's 17-year marriage ended in a highly publicized divorce and child-custody dispute over the couple's three children. Then, in January, 1983, the 45-year-old JoAnn Wilson was found dead, blood-spattered—perhaps with a meat cleaver—and shot in the head with a 36-caliber handgun. Her husband of two years, steel company executive Tim Wilson, found her body in the garage at the rear of their fashionable south Regina home. The Wilson home stood opposite the Saskatchewan legislature building, where Thatcher arrived from 1982 to 1983 as Conservative Premier Grant Devine's energy minister. Thatcher resigned his portfolio, citing family and financial matters, only five days before the discovery of his wife's body.

The authorities have kept Thatcher in custody since his arrest, and provincial court Judge Marion Wedge conducted him for trial after a preliminary hearing in June. Despite a prohibition ban on evidence presented at the June inquiry, public interest has been whetted by the disclosure of transcripts from the hearing that fueled reports of dramatic testimony and a surprise witness. Doubts loomed that the preliminary inquiry through several media channels, 30 private citizens paid \$500 each for the 765-page transcript of evidence that is legally available from the court. Book-

ings "The Mids' Insider of the Northwest" and "The Mids' Insider of the Northwest" were banned in Regina in November, 1985, for treason.

Public interest in Thatcher's personal life dates from his divorce in 1980. The blood, love-born JoAnn, who met Thatcher when they were both students at York State University, initiated the divorce suit. Husband and wife exchanged angry accusations of adultery. Subsequently, the provincial court awarded Thatcher's ex-wife an \$819,648 property settlement—then the largest divorce settlement ever awarded in Canada. (The sum was later reduced to \$300,000.)

Then came the prolonged and bitter child-custody dispute. At one point, 11-year-old Regan Thatcher disappeared for almost a year after a judge awarded custody of him and his younger sister, Stephanie, to JoAnn. In August, 1983, while giving Thatcher custody of Regan, now 19. During Regan's disappearance, Thatcher was fined \$6,000 for refusing to answer questions in a Regina Court of Queen's Bench hearing about the boy's whereabouts.

Nine months after the custody ruling—in which Mr. Justice R.A. MacPherson of the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench described Thatcher as "arrogant, domineering and intimidating"—an unknown gunman shot and wounded JoAnn in the shoulder as she stood in the kitchen of her house. A few weeks later Regan reappeared, and JoAnn told reporters that she was giving up her custody claim after living in terror for months. She told a press conference that the tires of her car had been slashed, sugar had been poured into the gas tank and she had received numerous telephone calls.

Because of the sensational nature of the case, court officials in Regina are preparing for an overflow crowd to the 120-seat Court of Queen's Bench and planned to make 30 seats available to reporters from across Canada.

Crown prosecutor Steve Kujawa expected to call 25 witnesses during the trial, which could last for three weeks. Meanwhile, questions about Thatcher's health provoked the criminal court, worried him in open court. Known in his legislative days as a man of martial temper and political bluntness, Thatcher was twice taken to hospital while in custody, reported to be suffering from chest pains and high blood pressure.

—DAVID BRILEY
in Regina



Thatcher: a prince of rumor and bookbanned gossip to a prime murder trial

Kujawa prosecuting



Homeowners removing UFTF as institutional reluctance to charge homeowners

A warning detected too late

Working in the obscurity of a neo-descript Ontario office building, the 10-year-old Federal Law Reform Commission of Canada quietly possible completed legal work and investigation cases in which evidence has been failed. Last week the government agency made news headlines when The Toronto Star and the year-old Access to Information Act to share a copy of a commission study which indicated that the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau authorized the use of area foamlike polyurethane insulation (UFTF) even though the chemical was suspected of causing cancer in human beings. The 250-page document, written by lawyer Clara MacLellan, showed that the federal government suspected as early as 1974 that UFTF might be hazardous to human health. Yet in 1977 the government approved UFTF. As a result, wrote MacLellan, "many thousands of Canadian homeowners have an insulation which is not sufficient, is a health risk and is very expensive to remove or neutralize."

For about 60,000 unlucky homeowners who installed the foam, these findings underlined the physical, mental and financial mistakes that some of them already knew too well. UFTF has been blamed for nosebleeds, respiratory difficulties, nausea and the anxiety caused by the shadow of cancer or a family. The financial burden is heavy as well. It was estimated \$20,000 to \$15,000 to remove UFTF cases it has been put into an average house, of which the federal government will pay only \$5,000. A home with UFTF is sharply devalued.

According to MacLellan, the bureaucratic bungling that led to UFTF's approval could have resulted in criminal charges for two concerned homeowners—no employees of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. and an employee of the Canadian General Standards Board. But no such charges were ever laid. The probable reason, according to the report, was "institutional reluctance to charge civil servants."

Former conservative cabinet minister André Ouellet finally banned UFTF in December, 1980. But it had some been shown how a toxic substance could have slipped past the required clearance procedures. MacLellan, now a justice department lawyer, refused further comment last week. But the words of his report were clear: "The ruling priorities—energy conservation at all costs and appeasing industry interests—were parallel to the confusion concerning materials and public health."

Perhaps even more disturbing was the question of how many smaller homeowner may be buried in government waste and filing cabinets in order to obtain the UFTF study, the Star had to go over the head of the law enforcement president, Mr. Justice A.L. L'Esperance, who refused to release it on the grounds that its recommendations were developed for the use of the Crown. The newspaper appealed to Information Commissioner Jager Huxton, who ordered the documents released. Homeowners affiliated with UFTF may wonder how long, in the normal course of events, they might have waited for the truth to come out.

—CAROL GORE in Ottawa

Stephen Lewis and the UN

As a student in the late 1950s, Stephen Lewis developed his oratorical prowess on University of Toronto debates that attracted guests of the masters of Lester B. Pearson and John F. Kennedy. During the Kennedy debate, a heckler attacked Lewis's commitment to the American civil rights movement. Lewis turned toward the heckler and said, "The whole world is watching," and then shouted a civil rights slogan—"Two, four, six, eight, we are going to integrate." The audience cheered and applauded. Lewis will soon have ample opportunity to address the world again. In a shrewd, if surprising, appointment last week, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government named the former Ontario New Democratic Party leader as Canada's new ambassador to the United Nations.

The eldest son of the late David Lewis, who was federal vice leader from 1970 to 1975, became an articulate and hard-working leader of the Ontario NDP in 1970. In the 1975 provincial election, which returned a minority Conservative government, he led his party back to the legislature as the official Opposition, supplanting the Liberals. But Lewis stepped down as leader in 1978, after the NDP had slipped back to third place. Since then, he has worked as a labor arbitrator, broadcaster and journalist. In a Madison's guest column last week, he was critical of Mulroney's move to Washington for talks with President Ronald Reagan. Despite that, Lewis said, the fact that Mulroney chose to appoint him to the UN post—where he will succeed former Liberal cabinet minister Gerard Peltier—showed that the Prime Minister "has greater breadth than I do. I suspect what I said, but it didn't impair his ability that I could be useful."

In another appointment last week, the government chose David P. Roche, a former Conservative MP from Edmonton and a political moderate, to succeed retired diplomat George F. Ignatieff as Canada's disarmament ambassador. The two appointments of Lewis, a strong supporter of the UN—arguing that the Mulroney government may be less inclined than former governments to dispense jobs on the basis of party or personal connections. Said Gerald Caplan, who retired this week as vice president of the UN—arguing that the Mulroney government may be less inclined than former governments to dispense jobs on the basis of party or personal connections. Said Gerald Caplan, who retired this week as vice president of the UN—arguing that the Mulroney government may be less inclined than former governments to dispense jobs on the basis of party or personal connections. Said Gerald Caplan, who retired this week as vice president of the UN—arguing that the Mulroney government may be less inclined than former governments to dispense jobs on the basis of party or personal connections.

—ROBERT BLOCK



Brantford's Prince Philip, the Queen and Chief William Siksik, as the Monarchs and royalty renew old connections

An ethnic mixture fit for a Queen

As the band struck up the first strains of *God Save the Queen* following a performance of Neapolitan folk songs in one of Toronto's Italian neighborhood last week, the 16-day visit by Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip took on a new dimension. Earlier, as she travelled through New Brunswick and eastern Ontario, she was greeted by predominantly Anglo-Saxon crowds—with descendants of United Empire Loyalists celebrating the bicentennial of the massed migration to Canada after the U.S. War of Independence front and centre. But the cheering subjects who gathered to see the Queen and Prince Philip last week had more varied ancestral roots—and the multicultural flavor was entirely to their Majesty's taste.

As the Queen travelled through Ontario and New Brunswick, she was greeted by a diverse mix of ethnic communities. Prince Philip left for London Thursday night on a private engagement—members of ethnic communities and varied religious turned out to hear the sovereign and celebrate their own traditions. The en-

counter began with a half-hour walk-out under a sunny morning sky in the Italian section of west-central Toronto. Then there was a Mexican rally to waltz in and a chapel Jewish prayer at an interfaith religious service in Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens. Later, the Queen greeted Anglican Indians at Brantford, Ont., and Ukrainian folk dancers in Dauphin, Man.

Said Aldo Vici, president of Toronto's West-Ohio Business and Professional Association, who worked for more than seven months to help prepare the Italian-Canadian welcome: "It is a sign to us that after a number of years in the wilderness, our ancestors are becoming recognized as a vibrant part of the Canadian mosaic." At a dinner celebrating Ontario's bicentennial at the Queen, wearing a sea-blue evening gown and a shimmering tiara, paid tribute to Canada's success in "bringing together the peoples of many cultures and many lands into one unified community."

In Brantford, the Queen marked the 200th anniversary of a royal grant of

land to Mohawk Indian loyalists from New York state. To the background clump of tall-trees, the Queen visited the white frame Chapel of the Malabar, the first Protestant church in Ontario, which King Edward VII designated as the only royal chapel outside Britain 80 years ago.

After a visit to Brantford, where she opened a centre named Science North, the Queen flew to Manitoba for the final three days of her 14th Canadian visit. In Winnipeg, where the Queen was greeted by a blinding cold wind, police checked out a bomb threat at the city's main post office building, and later held up the Queen's motorcade to investigate reports that a gunman had been seen near a department store. Barbara Balasak waited three hours to present a bouquet of red, white and blue flowers to the Queen. Balasak said she was rewarded by "a beautiful smile. It was just gorgeous, and I was just shaking." It was a long day, but it's been worth it.

—SUSAN MCCAY on the Royal Tour, with Gloria Meier in Winnipeg

NATIONAL NOTES

From Main Street to Bay Street

Parliamentary life may have lost some of its sparkle for former Liberal cabinet minister Jean Chrétien, whose dream of becoming Prime Minister has slipped out of reach. Last week the man who secured to be the heart of the Liberal party but lost the leadership to John Turner last June said he needed a new challenge. Two of his loyal supporters were there to provide it: Robert Wright, who served as Chrétien's chief of staff during the leadership campaign, and Eldon Goldenberg, who was Chrétien's ministerial aide and confidant for almost a decade, invited him to join them as counsel at the Toronto law firm of Lang, McEwen, Canadian, Finkelstein and Wright, where Edmund (Ted) Johnson, a former executive assistant to Pierre Trudeau, is also on staff. "I'm a hard-working guy," said the 50-year-old MP from Shawinigan, Que. "I'm not happy when I'm not busy." Business contacts that could mean big money are to Chrétien's part-time job at Toronto's upscale First Canadian Place. "This gives him the option of getting himself prepared for a return to private life," observed a longtime friend. Chrétien told Mackenzie's last week that he seriously contemplated leaving politics when the Sept. 4 election was called and that even his wife, Anne, was convinced that he would decide not to run. But like a boxer who sees a fight, Chrétien decided to go on one more round. "I'm not interested in an opposition MP brought forward by the likes of [Turner's] Conservatives or even left with a Parliamentary salary of only \$39,450 (compared to the \$116,000 he earned as deputy prime minister under Turner), Chrétien began to think seriously about his future. Now as an MP and part-time lawyer, Chrétien can outpace past his political future on the way John Turner said to—from an office on Bay Street.

Reaping anger on the farm

For years bank managers have reaped among the most respected citizens in farming communities throughout the Prairie provinces. Now, with farm bankruptcies and mortgage foreclosures rising at an alarming rate, the same banks are being reaped by angry, debt-ridden farmers. In Saskatchewan bank officials report that

rural managers are increasingly are leading themselves socially isolated within their communities. Their children have been teased by classmates at school, and some bank managers have even had their lives threatened. "In the past two months we have had two instances where our people were threatened," said David Robertson, a Saskatchewan senior vice-president of the Royal Bank. "We considered it serious and contacted the RCMP." According to Jim Coombes of the Yorkton-based Canadian Agriculture Movement (CAM), an organization set up by farmers concerned about their financial future, a farmer facing an interview with Bank of Montreal officials "was totally bemused" when the CAM representative was asked to leave. In another incident, a Swiss Place, Sask., farmer who was in financial trouble threatened to shoot his 10 head of cattle rather than turn them over to the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce—and later tried to deliver a live cow to the bank branch in nearby Nipawag as a protest gesture. The bleak findings of a study released by the Federal Farm Credit Corp. last week suggested that many farmers are more likely to become popular again in the near future. The study reported that as a result of high interest rates and rising costs, Canada's most productive farmers are now carrying debts that most of them will not be able to repay in their lifetimes.

Introducing the cabooseless train

High tech is threatening to catch up to the railway caboose, raising questions and even warring shareholders. Both CN and CP Rail want to retire cabooses—the familiar, boxy little cars with observation platforms that have been hooked onto the end of freight trains since the beginning of steam. The idea is to replace them with electronic devices known grossly as "end-of-train units" (ETUs), which claim that the caboose, originally designed to house a brakeman who could act as emergency to stop a train, have been superseded by technological developments and, with a price-tag of \$175,000, are now an expensive anachronism. The 12,000-marble United Transport Union (UTU), which was founded in 1883 by a group of railwaymen who got together in a caboose, do not oppose end-of-train units as an added safety device to monitor airbrake pressure. But the union insists that crew in cabooses can spot problems that a machine might miss. Don Bennett, Ontario spokesman for the UTU,

charged that the plan to scrap cabooses was "a last attempt to gain a small amount of profit at the expense of public safety. Above that, the controversy has opened the kind of bitter labor struggle that erupted when Canadian railways set out to abolish firemen during the switch from coal-fired to diesel locomotives a quarter of a century ago. The Canadian Transport Union (CTU) announced last week that it will bring public hearings, in Ottawa, on Dec. 1. The UTU welcomed the move. Declared Bennett in what could well become the union's battle cry, "Safety is a caboose."

'Street-smart and impatient'

When financier Robert Harrison took the witness stand in a Montreal court last week in his trial on 13 counts of perjury, theft, fraud and conspiracy, he prefaced his remarks by unabashedly describing himself as "impatient, greedy, street-smart and ambitious." Harrison, 50, an Ontario lawyer involved in helping former Liberal cabinet minister Brian Mulroney solve his financial problems, then proceeded to make a more sensational claim. He testified that advance information obtained by Mulroney about then Prime Minister Allan Maclean's 1985 budget enabled him to obtain a preferential interest rate by converting his \$225,000 personal debt to a small-business development loan and placing it in a controlled company with no employees. Mulroney told reporters in Montreal that the allegation was "absolutely absurd." Earlier, the court heard of a complicated series of transactions in which a portfolio of stocks owned by Mulroney with a market value of about \$200,000 was sold for twice that amount to a numbered company that borrowed the purchase price from the Bank of Montreal, using far more than a Montreal machine tool company that Mulroney used bankrupt. Last week, Harrison repeated to the court that he first got in touch with Mulroney when Thomas Awerth, who was then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's principal secretary, asked him to help the Liberal or with his financial problems—a story that at Awerth's dismissal as "a total fabrication." Harrison's appearance as the witness stand even included a reference to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Harrison asked Mulroney's name to an abortive scheme to build a luxury hotel in London. But even then, Harrison said, he did not mention the reference to Mulroney was "an assumption by my client."

Hong Kong's new masters

By Ross Laver

The crowded, gritty alleys of Hong Kong's Kowloon Tong factory district are a world away from the red-carpet splendor of Peking's Great Hall of the People. But Chia Ba, 64, is as anxious as anyone in the outpost of capitalism that his life and his family's future lie in the hands of China's next-door but ideologically remote Communist rulers. And that awareness is particularly sharp in the wake of the Sept. 26 signing of a historic agreement which details the future of the British Crown colony when it reverts to Chinese control on July 1, 1997.

Kilo hundreds of thousands of his compatriots who now reside in the colony, Chia fled across the border from Guangdong province in southern China to escape the early poverty and the political turbulence that he marked much of the 35-year history of the Communist regime. But Chia fled 30 years ago. Now he is trying to convince himself, or at least hope, that Peking will respect Hong Kong's classically laissez-faire economy when it regains control of the territory after Britain's 99-year lease expires. "My view is that the Chinese leaders will keep their promise to make Hong Kong prosperous and stable," said Chia, an ice-cream maker who lives with his wife and three children in a 250-square-foot flat in Kowloon, across the broad harbor from the city's pulsating financial core. Then he added on afterthought of doubt: "And anyway, the political situation is always unpredictable. I do not believe that I will eliminate the Hong of Pao world ever re-emerge in Peking, but how can we know for sure?"

Reassurance: At almost every level of Hong Kong's multiracial society, that sense of confidence tempered with resignation is unmistakable. After two years of paralyzing uncertainty and tension, the Sept. 26 draft agreement between Britain and China has finally given the colony's 5.5 million inhabitants—99 percent of whom are ethnic Chinese—a detailed glimpse of their future. And in the eyes of many in the colony, it is a victory, a step toward saving the territory from the chaos of the 46-year joint declaration, Peking has consented to allow Hong Kong to keep its present economic and social system for 50 years after 1997, becoming

a Special Administrative Region of China with its own locally elected legislature and a high degree of autonomy except in foreign and defense affairs. The draft treaty also includes that Hong Kong's citizens will retain their basic rights and freedoms, including those of speech, worship, political association, property ownership and travel abroad.

As well, to preserve Hong Kong's role as the trading hub of the Pacific Basin, the territory will retain its present judicial system, its status as a free port and separate customs territory, and its markets for foreign exchange, gold, securities and commodities.

Some Hong Kong residents are convinced that the colony's British masters have "sold out." They predict that by 1997 Peking will have conveniently forgotten its pledges. Some of the skeptics are British expatriates alarmed at the thought of Whitehall's surrendering without a struggle one of the few remaining jewels of a once-glorious imperial crown. Others belong to the territory's industrial but shrinking professional lobby, many of whom gained firsthand experience of life under Communist rule when Mao Tse-tung's troops seized control of Shanghai and other mainland cities in 1949. At first, the Maoists promised a hands-off approach to Shanghai's capitalist entrepreneurs, they say, but widespread persecution eventually drove many of them to pack up and leave for the more secure bases of Hong Kong, nearby Portuguese Macau and the U.S.-protected offshore island of Taiwan.

But the majority of Hong Kong's indigenous citizens take a more optimistic view of the Sino-British accord. Most residents cling firmly to the theory that Chinese pragmatism and self-interest will keep the mainland from tampering with the capitalist ingredients of Hong Kong's remarkable economic success. Said Yu Chu Lam, 47,

a prosperous merchant whose three dried-seafood stores in the city's Western district earn a combined monthly profit of \$5,000. "Of course I am confident that the identity will be maintained. Why would China throw away the agreement after announcing it to the world?" Civil servant Anita Wong added that it was "excellent" that after

165 years as a colonial outpost, Hong Kong in 1997 will remain "the motherland." In this respect I may be old-fashioned compared with some of my colleagues, but I am patriotic. Moreover, the present rate of economic development in China is a guarantee in itself."

Obstacles: The British are also confident that China will honor its understanding. Speaking at a women's sportsman's trade show in the colony last week, Hong Kong Gov. Sir Edward Youde hailed the draft agreement—which must still be ratified by the British parliament later this year—as an essential first step toward ending the uncertainties that have restrained economic growth. Said Youde: "Now that the obstacle has been removed, our industrial and commercial leaders should again

feel able to look to the future with confidence." Privately, a high-ranking government official told *Maclean's* that Chinese self-interest is one of the most effective assurances of Hong Kong's future stability and prosperity.

For their part, the Chinese are clearly elated by the settlement, reached after two years of often bitter negotiations. In celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, Premier Zhao Ziyang told a group of visiting Chinese from overseas that China's progress in recent years had demonstrated that the country could overcome any "complex situation." Said Zhao: "We can now say with confidence that the cause of reunification and revitalization of China will be accomplished." To many observers that



British sense of confidence

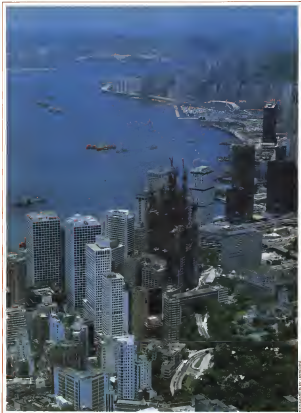


PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

seconded like a (shilly-shally) reference to Taiwan, whose fiercely anti-Communist government has been a major annoyance to Peking ever since Mao's defeat of the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek.

The Hong Kong that China will inherit in 1997 is unquestionably the parent example of free-market capitalism anywhere in the world. With few natural resources other than the sheer energy and business acumen of its residents, the territory has transformed itself from a beleaguered colony of 600,000 people in 1946 to its current status as the world's 15th-largest trading nation. As well, it is the world's third-largest financial centre, behind New York and London, the third-largest gold and diamond trading centre, and an overseas port will soon overtake New York as second in volume to Rotterdam. Every year more than 11,000 seagoing vessels pass through its harbor, carrying 33 million tons of cargo.

Overcrowding. The colony has one of the world's highest population densities: 13,895 people per square mile. With real estate prices for commercial and residential property among the highest on earth, almost half of Hong Kong's population is crammed into shells of identical, publicly owned high-rises that crowd both sides of Hong Kong's busy harbor. But even the stress of overcrowding is endured, because the driving force in Hong Kong's collective psyche is the belief that with hard work and diligence even a lowly factory worker can one day join one of the scores of millionaires whose plush villas dot the 1,800-foot-high Victoria Peak.

The spoils of Hong Kong's success are everywhere. For those the classic image of the colony as a vast swatting-off reliant on cheap labor, the territory has a per capita gross domestic product of \$4,000, third in Asia behind Japan and Singapore. The comparable Canadian figure is \$14,500. There is no income tax, wage law, and no unemployment insurance, but workers' compensation schemes are compulsory, as are nine years of public school education. The territory's modern government-run hospitals and low-cost medical care have given Hong Kong residents an average life expectancy higher than in the United States, Britain or Canada.

Even more remarkably, the social housing, education and health benefits have been developed with a tax system that is among the most generous in the world. Hong Kong residents pay a maximum of 17 per cent of their incomes in taxes, the corporate rate is at 16.5 per cent. With so little money siphoned off by the government, the colony's residents are left with enough cash to fi-

nance complex consumption. Precious haberdashery and jewelry boutiques (for Gucci, Cartier and Dior abound), and the territory has what is reputed to be the highest number of Rolls-Royces per mile of road in the world. The chairman of the Hong Kong Commodities Exchange, Kin Chan, estimates that the local economy will grow by six per cent this year after inflation, and unemployment is a meagre four per cent. Almost everywhere, new buildings are rising and existing ones are renovated. As-



Peak of China (building): self-interest

piring to property consultant Tony Percy, a tenth of four million square feet of additional office space is under construction or is the final planning stages. One such building, the new home of the British-owned Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corp.—the colony's unofficial central bank—will cost more than \$1 billion, making it the most expensive corporate building anywhere.

Opium. Still, none of the wealth has covered Peking's bitterness and hostility over modern Hong Kong's origins. The Royal Navy simply seized Hong Kong Island from the emperor, Tsing-tai, in 1841 as a secure base for British traders to sell opium to the Chinese. In 1860 an impoverished China also

handed over "in perpetuity" the tip of Kowloon Peninsula to the mainland. Finally, under the Convention of Peking in 1860, the Qing dynasty gave Britain a rent-free 99-year lease on the so-called New Territories, a 365-square-mile tract of mountainous terrain further inland than where China's Guangdong province and that town accounts for 98 per cent of the colony's territory.

From a modern strategic standpoint, it is clear that Hong Kong is virtually indefensible, an easily captured Canadian and other Commonwealth fortress located during the Japanese grab in South China during the Second World War. Currently, China has five million frontier soldiers and 12 million reserves. By contrast, Britain maintains only a 9,000-man garrison in the colony.

The problem that Britain faced was how to grade Hong Kong back into the Chinese fold while safeguarding the economic freedom that were responsible for its impressive prosperity. But the Chinese themselves were slow to start negotiating, telling two-Joe Sir Murray MacLehose in 1979 that Hong Kong's capitalist freedoms could "set their hearts at ease." Despite that encouraging sign, the talks got off to an auspicious start in the fall of 1983 when British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher asserted during a visit to Peking that, in Britain's view, the treaties that governed Hong Kong's territory were valid in a territorial law. Peking responded with an ideological tirade, rejecting its invitation to reach sovereignty over the territory. Then, the Chinese set last month as the deadline for an acceptable agreement.

Horror. The war of words began a year-previous business series. The Hong Kong stock index, Hong Kong's barometer of its pulse conditions, tumbled 25 per cent in just six trading days after Thatcher's statement, while the Hong Kong dollar slid to a record low of \$9.20 to the U.S. dollar by late 1983 from \$9.20 at the end of 1981. Subsequently, the government intervened to peg the currency at \$7.85 (U.S.). At the same time, the colony's highly leveraged property market nosedived as anxious investors pulled out of deals and began bid to put their many clearings, preferably outside the colony entirely. Among the departing companies include, Marathon & Co, the quasi-essentially British Hong Kong trading house, whose Scottish founders helped to engineer the annexation of Hong Kong Island. As well, property firms that had made money in the speculative land boom of the late 1970s began to re-collapse, triggering fears of a possible banking crisis.

In fact, the situation was not quite as desperate as many investors had feared. As the talks progressed, it quickly became apparent that both sides were

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S P E C T R U M



China's National Day celebrations in Peking: evoking the nationalism that fuels Chinese feelings about Hong Kong's origins

COVER

...willing to make basic concessions. Indeed, China depends on Hong Kong for nearly 40 per cent of its hard currency earnings, or \$6.9 billion in 1983. As well, few British politicians harboured any hopes of handing over the territory after 1997, and many considered Hong Kong's colonial status to be an embarrassing anachronism. According to one senior colonial official, Britain's initial demand that it retain sovereignty was designed to placate those who expected a warlike defence of the territory. Said one colonial official: "Quite clearly there were some [British] people who in their heart of hearts may have wanted 1997 to go away. Our task was to soften the blow, to make them focus on the realistic options that Britain faced."

Objections: As it happened, the British made most of the concessions. After a year of fruitless haggling—during which the British delegation presented most of the proposals while the Chinese side raised most of the objections—Whitehall finally dropped its demand for a temporary British administration after 1967. The proposal had been made on a similar arrangement in Macao, a tiny Portuguese-run enclave 60 km west of Hong Kong across the Pearl River (page 26). Then, last summer the British gave in on the difficult issue of

station troops in Hong Kong, ostensibly for its defence. (Within an hour of that announcement the Hong Kong stock index slumped 30 points.)

For their part, the Chinese negotiators played their hand skillfully, turning public statements to soothe Hong Kong's jittery financial markets and exert pressure on the British. Indeed, so successful were the Chinese tactics that the final document contained nearly all of the elements of a 16-point plan for Hong Kong that Peking made public in July, 1983. China's only substantial concession was the publication of its assurances in the form of a detailed agreement between the two nations. The country's leaders had initially favored a shorter, more abstract document.

The Chinese celebrated the accord in the Oct. 1 National Day festivities in Peking. In the most spectacular public signing in 30 years, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping reviewed troops by limousine and then watched from a reviewing stand overlooking Tiananmen Square as

China staged a two-hour march-past, complete with an unprecedented show of strategic weapons. In his heavy 50-shannon apron—which had to be substituted on Chinese television to be understood—the 80-year-old leader hailed China's growing prosperity and called on his 1.1 billion countrymen to exhibit renewed dedication to the "Four Modernizations"—in agriculture, industry, defense and science and technology. Said Deng: "We have given China a new face."

Today, all of our people have reason to be proud," he added. That China stood for the peaceful settlement of international disputes through negotiation. "Just as we have settled the question of Hong Kong with the United Kingdom through negotiations." Indeed, Hong Kong's citizens derive confidence in their colony's future from the knowledge that China itself is swiftly adopting economic reforms. Since 1978, when the Communist Party Central Committee pushed aside the radical Maoists and elevated the pragmatic Deng to its

Subbing: prized negotiator



Photo: AP/Wide World

try's gross national product has jumped 90 per cent to \$345 billion in 1983. At the same time, Peking has launched an all-out drive to attract foreign investment and technology, setting up four so-called Special Economic Zones (SEZs), in which industries are encouraged to borrow freely from capitalist management techniques, even going as far as to pay incentive bonuses. In the largest and most successful of these zones, a 127-square-mile parcel known as Shenzhen, encircling Hong Kong, residents enjoy the highest standard of living in the country and earn an average of 4,000 a month, twice the urban average in China.

Last spring Chinese policymakers announced that the experiment with an so-called "red capitalism" had gone so well that they were also opening up 14 coastal cities to limited foreign investment. According to the official Xinhua News Agency, the cities will offer outside investors "preferential treatment in line with some of the policies permitted" in the four SEZs.

Criticism: Despite some skepticism abroad—Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, for one, has voiced concern that foreign investments in China may be inadequately protected—Peking is clearly convinced that its policies provide a formula for economic success. Speaking to a group of American businessmen in New York last month, Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xuequn observed that the 30-year pledge of autonomy for Hong Kong was based on simple economic logic. Declared Wu: "If the economy in China keeps growing at the present rate, by the year 2047 we expect the standard of living on the mainland to be at least as high as that enjoyed by people in Hong Kong, possibly higher."

Not all Hong Kong residents can afford to take such a comforting view of the years ahead. But there is at least widespread agreement that capitalism and Communism can coexist. As Deng himself has said, "Who cares what color a cat is as long as it catches mice?" In addition, Peking has already avowed more than \$4 billion in the colony, a portfolio that includes Communist-controlled department stores, banks, apartment blocks, a massive trade center and a brokerage house that trades on Hong Kong's four stock markets. And more investments are planned, including a state-owned 30-story office tower for the Bank of China designed by Chinese-born American architect I.M. Pei. While the building is completed in 1988, it will be one of the tallest skyscrapers in Asia. Said Christian Balshaw, Hong Kong-based partner in the Montreal law firm of Schoeman, Efron and chairman of the Canadian Chinese



Community of decapitated sampans near Aberdeen; all too often, the otherwise impoverished existence in Hong Kong and emigration to the West is money.

of Commerce in Hong Kong. "It may sound like woolly thinking, but I think that the Chinese are just as interested as anyone else in keeping this place prosperous."

Still, even Balshaw admits that the colony is in danger of losing its proud reputation as a safe place for international investors to store their money.

Fishermen Kang's uncertain resignation



"You run into a confidence problem," he said. "If there's any surprise at all [that funds placed here] (after 1997) will somehow come under the control of a socialist government that does not support offshore banking, obviously that money will not be placed here."

Caution: But the risks are likely outweighed by the prospect of Hong Kong becoming a conduit for increased trade between China and the West. Said Martin Caporaso, 55, Canada's ambassador in Peking from 1972 to 1974 and now head of the Canadian Commission in Hong Kong: "The smart way for a company to set up an operation in China is to come to Hong Kong and wait." Added Canadian lawyer Edward Bokk, who has spent 13 years in the subtle Sino-British commercial links with the Chinese: "The people who are predicting that Hong Kong will no longer be a financial center don't know what a financial center is. This place has excellent communications, a good location, skilled workers and a modern infrastructure. And none of these factors is threatened in any way." "As time goes by, people are learning that there are enormous advantages to staying here," said Gary Gault, 50, a Vancouver native who is marketing director of Burbank Asia Ltd., a consulting firm that recently signed a contract to organize a defense trade show in Peking in 1988. "And anyway, the one thing about being an expatriate is that you can get out if the circumstances are dire."

Even many of the pessimists are not quite ready to abandon Hong Kong. Displaced Bernard Pollack, a former co-president of the National Bank of Canada who now manages a Hong Kong investment firm owned by Indians, says the colony has traditionally been a place where smart businessmen can recover their investments in as few as five to seven years and then reap the profits. "Don't forget that there are still 15 years left for people to make their fortunes," said Pollack, 39. "A lot of people are sticking around because they say it's the last big opportunity to make money."

Troubled: Many of the 54 million ethnic Chinese are the most troubled residents, following the Sino-British accord. Kang Fat Shing, for one, is doubtful that Peking will abide by the agreement, especially after troops from the People's Liberation Army—the last remaining stronghold of ultra left-wing Maoism in the Communist Party—were allowed into the territory. "But what difference does it make to a poor man like me?" said Kang, who operates a motorized junk in Aberdeen harbor on the island's South side. Working 12 or 13 hours a day, the 50-year-old fisherman takes home about \$670 a month with which to support his wife and six children. Lei Kwok Pui, 26, who trades boats of radium and cassette records at a factory in Kowloon, has also topped with the idea of trying to get out. "However," he said, "I have no money."

Money can often mean the difference between being forced to remain in Hong Kong and being allowed to emigrate. Some 500-people countries in the region have offered themselves as safe havens to Hong Kong Chinese who are wealthy enough to pay the price. The Philippines has designed a special visa that provides citizenship after 10 years and a mini-

Capitalists weighing risks



sum investment of \$300,000 in a depressed area of the country. Singapore citizenship can be obtained after a five-year wait and a \$495,000 investment in an approved industry. Canada also is hoping to reap the benefits of a flight of capital from the colony (page 36).

But Hong Kong's Chinese are clearly not welcome in Britain. In 1961, shortly before talks on the colony's future began, the British parliament amended the Nationality Act, removing resident rights for citizens of "dependent territories" such as Hong Kong. Said a senior colonial government official: "Clearly, it would be politically impossible for Britain to absorb three million people from Hong Kong when we already have four million unemployed. If in the year 2047 the whole system is falling apart and people are being persecuted and want to get out, I'm sure Britain would be as sympathetic as anyone else. But that is like asking a woman who is about to get married what she is going to do if her husband starts beating her up." Overall, the number of people leaving Hong Kong for work, studies or resettlement abroad increased by only five per cent last year, to 22,806. In 1976, by contrast, the figure was 33,000.

Future: For the majority who remain in Hong Kong, the challenge is to forge an independent political system strong enough to endure beyond 1997. It is a cliché that the colony's Chinese population has traditionally shunned government. But the Chinese are not so much in business, in reality, since the early 1930s the Chinese were largely shut out of the British-dominated civil service and representative councils. Now, the British are scrambling to introduce a system of representative councils, which had previously been forbidden. In a policy proposal issued last July, the government recommended indirect elections for 24 of the 60 seats on the appointed legislative council. Direct elections were ruled out on the grounds that "we should run the risk of a swift introduction of adversarial politics, and an element of instability at a crucial time."

The Chinese were satisfied with that arrangement. In Peking last week, Deng reportedly said a visiting Hong Kong delegation that is more staff by leftists should comprise only a small minority of the territorial council. The Chinese leader also indicated that the Hong Kong deal would sacrifice the "old man" of Chinese government, General Deng. "We could change our policies when they are supported by the Chinese people?" The now, most of Hong Kong's millionaires have little choice but to believe what he says.

With Jeremy Armit in Hong Kong and Wendy Lee in Peking.

A shabby sister colony weighs its future

Basking in the balmy autumn sun, residents of the fading and forgotten territory of Macao watched Hong Kong's sovereignty ceremonies with bemusement and envy. The Portuguese enclave 68 km west of Hong Kong renounced the issue of sovereignty in 1929, when Lisbon and Peking quietly signed a diplomatic protocol that the city of 500,000 should be known as a "Chinese territory with a Portuguese administration." The pact recognized Peking's right to assert full control over the nine-square-mile territory at any time. However, when negotiations over Hong Kong reached a climax last summer, Peking informed Macanese officials that the talks had no implications for the future of the Portuguese enclave. For some residents of Hong Kong's shabby sister city that was a hopeful sign. But for others, it suggested that Macao has no future at all.

Lament: Indeed, Macao has lived in Hong Kong's shadow ever since the British arrived in 1841. Until then the colony, which the Portuguese established in 1537 as a commercial centre, had enjoyed a highly profitable monopoly as the only European trading post on the South China coast. But Hong Kong quickly eclipsed Macao as the centre for Sino-European culture and trade in the region. The current Macanese lament is that neither Lisbon nor Peking seems interested in displacing Hong Kong's economic success. The Portuguese government confirmed Macanese insecurity about being absorbed in 1978, when it offered to surrender control of Macao twice. Each time Communist officials declined.

Many Macanese argue that Peking leaves them alone because the question of sovereignty has been settled and because Macao has little of Hong Kong's commercial allure. While government officials have entered some Hong Kong textile factory zones to open branch operations in Macao, the city still relies on tourism and gambling as its economic mainstays. Indeed, the territory's four casinos annually contribute 50 per cent of the Macanese government's \$84-million annual budget.

The task of providing over the forgotten terri-

tory has fallen to a stocky Portuguese rear admiral, Vasco Almeida e Costa. While Hong Kong's colonial governor, Sir Edward Young, enjoys a fleet of official limousines, a rambling mansion and a retinue of secretaries and servants, Almeida e Costa is based in a shabby grandeur. When he arrived at his posting in 1981 from Lisbon, he found that his dilapidated nine-storey mansion had neither a shower nor a television

has been his electoral reformer. Last winter the governor dissolved the 15-member Legislative Assembly and called for summer elections. Then, for the first time, he extended suffrage beyond the traditional Portuguese and mixed-race communities to the Chinese majority. "Our colonial attitudes have had to change," the governor said recently. He also cited Portugal's failure to install mechanisms of self-deter-



ry. On one hand one can blame the gaudy Almeida e Costa, who favors sport shirts and sandals in public, has had difficulty maintaining his own palace guards of his identity before they would admit him through the gates.

Still, Almeida e Costa has attempted to implement comprehensive economic development programs to help Macao break the mold of a century of economic torpor. He has proposed construction of an airport, a deepwater seaport and an aqueduct system to supply two outlying islands with potable water. But critics have accused Almeida e Costa of miswits and misappropriation of public funds.

However, the real source of friction between the Portuguese governor and Macao's small, conservative elite

ation in two other overseas colonies, Western Sahara and Angola, before departing in 1975.

Geenly: But the real concern was how Peking would react to Almeida e Costa's experiment in limited democracy. Few residents believe that Almeida e Costa can accomplish much without at least the tacit approval of the Chinese. For the short term, though, Macao's future will depend more on Hong Kong than on Peking. Of 3.4 million tourists who visited Macao last year, 2.5 million were Chinese punters from Hong Kong who came to play fan-tan and blackjack in the gaudy Hotel Lisboa casino. Observers suggest that the return of economic stability to Hong Kong will ensure a steady trade in the gaming tables where, against heavy odds, the vision dream of winning fortunes. The odds against Macao's dream—of a booming economy and the return of its faded splendor—seem equally discouraging.

—JAMES MITCHELL, with Derek Lee in Hong Kong



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Almeida e Costa: mayor





Massive atop Hong Kong's exclusive Peak district: more millionaires per square mile than anywhere else on earth

COVER

area from thousands of miles away."

Not all of Hong Kong's would-be immigrants are wealthy. Although the colony seems to have more millionaires per square mile than anywhere else on earth, it also has more than half a million people crowded into squatter settlements. The very poor, who have little cash and even less influence, have little chance of leaving; they cannot afford to. The luckless descendents of the 1947, 1950 and 1962 waves of the \$170,000 airplane ticket—the amount that they claim is necessary to gain a visa to Canada, Australia or Brazil.

Magnets. But for many among the large middle class there is an opportunity to emigrate. Last year Canada's immigration office in Hong Kong—the largest of any Western nation in Asia—processed nearly 6,000 immigration applications in addition to those filed under the extensive seasonal program. This year, external affairs reports predict that the number will rise to 9,000. Nearly half the successful applicants will be entitled to bring their spouses and dependent children under 21 with them. But visas, uncles, brothers, sisters and other relatives must meet separate requirements

Decision: relax or rules



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that take into account age, education, language skills and financial resources. Reginald William Sinclair, senior immigration counselor at the Canadian Commission in Hong Kong: "The system is reasonably oriented. We are looking for people with real entrepreneurial skills who are willing and able to create jobs in Canada." Because Canada is receptive to Hong Kong immigration, the colony has become a magnet for Canadian immigration lawyers, travel agents, accountants and real estate agents eager to cash in on the exodus. Here their old consultants have set up shop to advise both prospective immigrants as well as more than 6,000 Hong Kong residents who already hold Canadian papers on making the journey to Golden Mountain.

Others have taken precautions against the time when they can no longer prosper in the colony. Half of Hong Kong's population is under 30, and thousands of middle-class parents have sent their children to foreign schools in an effort to ensure they acquire skills that will enhance their chances of emigrating. Last year, more than 30,000 Hong Kong residents studied in Canada. Another 60,000 have returned home after completing some part of their education. Already, Hong Kong boasts the

largest chapter of the University of Toronto abroad, associations outside Canada.

Reassuring. Still, not all of those eligible will move. Many who adopted a wait-and-see attitude before last month's agreement on the colony's future have said that its guarantees are reassuring. Says Kim Chuen, the Canadian-educated chairman of the Hong Kong Council on Exchange: "I am keen to stay on as long as I can. But if things don't work out, naturally I shall have to exercise my alternatives." Others may decide to postpone their departure until 1997. Said the editor of one English-language Hong Kong newspaper: "A lot of people feel that there is plenty of time to make a fortune or two before then."

With last month's accord on Hong Kong's future, some of the colony's investors have been reassured. "The rate of investment has slowed," said Gold-pier's Chan. He added that some entrepreneurs who bought Canadian real estate are now selling their properties to raise cash to reinvest in Hong Kong. "We are in a period of uncertainty now," Chan said. "It is too soon to say exactly what effect the agreement is going to have." Before that uncertainty is resolved, some Hong Kong officials will probably decide that the prudent course is to leave. If they do, the door to the faded Golden Mountain is open—provided the immigrants bring a substantial bank balance.

—Ann Pennington, with Ron Laver in Hong Kong, Wendy Lee in Peking and Hilary Newkome in Ottawa.

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A faltering search for peace

From Choluteca, 32 km from San Salvador, the mountain roll north toward the Honduran border. Briefly, last week, the guns of Central America's undeclared and often unsparring civil war were silent. The silence was broken only by the wind whistling in the pine trees or by the occasional grinding of gears as banana-laden trucks wound down a mountain road. Then, from the other direction, came the echo of approaching footsteps. A detachment of left-wing guerrillas, the People's Liberation Forces (FLP), trooped up the highway, American-made M-16 rifles slung over their shoulders. But there remained no sign that the rebel advance was at hand.

Secure in their traditional northern stronghold, the FLP has been threatening a new general push against El Salvador's central government for some months. The movement's leaders to date have produced a mood of optimism among Salvadoran army commanders and other U.S. advisers. After four years and hundreds of millions of dollars in U.S. military aid, some observers believe the tide of the war may be shifting decisively in the government's favor.

The FLP's weakness on the ground has coincided with a significant loss of diplomatic terrain since the May inauguration of El Salvador's president, José Napoleón Duarte. His recent visits to Europe and other Latin American countries have helped revitalize the efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the so-called Contadora group—to write a regional peace treaty that would settle conflicts in both El Salvador and Nicaragua. The Contadora proposal has the best hope for a peaceful solution in that area, according to Canadian and many Western European diplomats.

One 18-page draft of that treaty, approved last month in Costa Rica by foreign ministers of the European Community, would commit the five Central American republics to reductions in



Salvadoran troops on maneuvers; Duarte (below) an attempt to isolate its revolutionary left

arms, troops and foreign advisers as well as to guarantees of fair elections and other civil liberties. Surprising Washington, Nicaragua's Sandinistas justly quickly endorsed the Contadora proposal. But other countries, among them El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica—all U.S. allies—et al. delivered, and the Reagan administration staff said the draft would require substantial revisions. State Secretary of State George Shultz "has been to distinguish between the peace process and a particular proposal."

The administration's objections center on two articles. The first would allow Nicaragua to keep its Cuban and Soviet advisers indefinitely, while American military trainers in El Salvador would withdraw immediately. The second would offer negotiations of specific compliance mechanisms until after the second is signed. But in New York last week Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega ruled out changes in the treaty. Addressing the United Nations, Ortega suggested that the United States and Nicaragua remain far apart. The Pentagon and the

CIA, he warned, planned an Oct. 15 invasion to prevent the scheduled Nov. 4 presidential elections. The White House dismissed the claim.

But Nicaragua's controversial ballot counting, prominently at another world gathering last week—the Summit for the Americas in Rio de Janeiro, then, took aim at postponing the election until mid-January and forcing Arturo Cruz, leader of Nicaragua's major opposition group, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of the Americas, to resign. Cruz had signaled readiness to agree when Sandinista negotiator Bayardo Arce angrily withdrew, saying the Nov. 4 date was "irrevocably irreversible."

Observers hinted that Arce had needed no much or that Managua had been banking on Cruz. Efforts to reach an accord seemed likely to resume this week. But if Cruz maintains his boycott, sides and there would be little choice but to join the armed opposition, after which the silence of Choluteca would surely be shattered.

—DAVID BELMANN, with correspondent reports



Perrera campaigning in Athens; Bush (below) a misadventure in American politics

THE UNITED STATES

Campaigning on style

At Memphis State University, 7,000 people—brandishing placards reading, "Mr. Bush loves Ferrera"—showed up at a hall demped to hold only 2,500. Within seconds, Geraldine Ferrera had the visible crowd of blacks and whites on its feet, cheering her staging act—hers against the Reagan administration. "Ronald Reagan's idea of helping higher education is to teach a teacher to sit alone," she declared in her high-pitched New York voice. Jovial before, for the first time she was a stage with Ray. When Jackson, she smoothed off her Democratic party wounds by paying lavish tribute to his Proclamation of Emancipation to thousands

gone-Bush ticket. In the center, sound-proofed council chambers, not all of the 400 units were full. As he dropped local names, the vice-president was self-effacing and unassuming, playing his role as Reagan's partner. Said Bush: "This president is in charge, make no mistake about it."

Competing for a job that Franklin D. Roosevelt's first vice-president, John Nance Garner, once dismissed as a "not worth a basket of warm pigs," Bush and Ferrera are distinguished by more than their startling difference in style. In the dramatic resignation recently taking place in American politics, the traditional yardsticks no longer held.

Throughout this fall's campaign Ferrera has drawn larger and more adoring crowds and has won the lion's share of the headlines. But Bush has consistently topped the polls as the candidate most favored to succeed only a heartbeat from the presidency. Indeed, as they prepared for their vice-presidential debate in Philadelphia this week, the most recent exit-poll from the Washington Post poll gave the confident Bush his largest

lead, 80 to 44 percent, and Ferrera her most unfavorable rating, 50 to 42 percent.

Nor did a delay in the release of Bush's tax returns—a situation that might have put her campaign on a more equal footing—narrow that gap. Ferrera's release of additional financial data last week, re-evaluating her controversial August claims against, continued to provide optimism that her previous estimates had been more than just "slightly accounting," as she had claimed. But the vice-president was expected to turn his two months of waffling over the disclosure of his fund status into a public relations disaster. First, the head of the office of government ethics publicly contradicted Bush's ethics that he could not reveal the figures because his assets were in the control of a blind trust. Then, two of Bush's Washington law attorneys disclosed that their client had been forced to pay the Internal Revenue Service an additional \$150,000 in back taxes and interest after an audit of his 1981 tax return. Still, the vice-president succeeded in portraying himself as an ordinary taxpayer doing battle with the IRS. Chained Bush, whose net worth was evaluated at \$2.1 billion. "If you're vice-president, that doesn't mean you should be singled out."

It was no accident that both Bush and Ferrera focused their energies last week on the South. Friday was the deadline for voter registration in most states. Indeed, in what may be a significant sign in Louis Harris' political geography, pollster Louis Harris warned that the Democrats have already lost their traditional voting strength in much of the Sunbelt. Since the Maryland-Pennsylvania border. According to Harris, a resounding backlash and concerted registration drive by Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority have transformed the South into a Republican stronghold. Surveys now suggest Reagan lacks Watergate 60 to 35 percent, the widest gap of any region in the country.

With her enormous crowd appeal making her impact on the Ferrera side were mounting on the debate to raise Democratic spirits. Not only have television debates traditionally benefited the underdog candidate, but Ferrera is also a glib and feisty politician, far from her level-headed, Bush self-deprecating. Indeed, that sides were in him he could not win a confrontation with the country's first woman vice-presidential candidate. But Ferrera, characteristically on the attack, claimed the stakes were higher for Bush than for herself. Said she "obviously, he's answered that I might have some effect on his future in 1985."

—MARTIN McDONALD in Memphis

An explosive indictment

A few almost four years of rumor and a federal inquiry, the arraignment of Raymond Donovan last week came at an awkward time for President Ronald Reagan. Just 30 days before the U.S. presidential election, Reagan's secretary of labor became the first cabinet member in U.S. history to be indicted on a criminal offense. Federal prosecutors in New York charged Donovan with a lit of 307 offenses, including grand larceny to defraud the New York City Transit Authority of \$6 million. Donovan, who pleaded not guilty to the charges, took an indefinite leave from his cabinet duties. But Reagan cautiously offered his support, declaring that the charges were part of a "tough atmosphere."

Reagan has reason to stand by his labor secretary. During the 1988 campaign Donovan was one of the few major businessmen in the American Northeast to support Reagan. Immediately after Donovan's appointment to the cabinet in early 1989, rumors circulated in Washington that the New Jersey-based Schiavone Construction Co., of which he was once an executive vice president, had underwritten Reagan. However, initial investigations ended when special prosecutor Leon Silverman ruled that there was "insufficient credible evidence" to prosecute Donovan.

In the wake of the indictments, White House chief of staff James Beale ordered all members of the administration and Reagan's re-election team not to talk about the scandal. But one senior campaign official privately speculated that the Donovan case would not harm the president. "This is simply not the kind of issue on which people are making their decisions between Reagan and Mondale. The only danger will be if Donovan starts drawing attention to himself. Donovan has to keep his mouth shut. The everybody else."

For its part, Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale was expected to raise the "diesel factor" against Reagan, a reference to the allegations of no fewer than five Reagan aides who have been the focus of criticism on ethics. But the Republicans have warned that they will resurrect charges of irregularities in the finances of Mondale's running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, if the Democrats make an election matter out of the Donovan case. Clearly, the issues are so close that neither side would see to face in the final days before the election.

—WILLIAM LOFFLER in Washington



Rosetta (middle) is drunk, shaking the roots of the international underworld

ITALY

Dealing the Mafia a body blow

A few days before the words to the two young Italian magistrates made no sense. Across the table in a Brazilian jail last June sat Mafia favorites longino Tommaso Buscetta, awaiting extradition to Italy. In his heavily accented Sicilian dialect, Buscetta stared at the judge and said, "I am not your adversary." With that startling signal Buscetta, 56, began a long summer of disclosures that made him the highest-ranking member of the Cosa Nostra since Joseph Valachi two decades ago to break Omertà—the Mafia's sacred code of silence. Last week Buscetta's revelations reverberated through the international underworld, including his extensive Canadian connections. In Rome police issued arrest warrants for 368 suspected members of organized crime families. Acting on Buscetta's request, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation began rounding up another 28 suspects in what Attorney General William French Smith called "the single most devastating assault on the Mafia in its entire history."

It will be months before Buscetta's disclosures can be fully weighed, but even now authorities are convinced that his testimony can help counter the influence of crime syndicates in Italy and North America. Indeed, the *Times* daily *La Stampa* reported that more arrests are forecast, some of them in Canada. Buscetta operated in Montreal and Toronto during the late 1960s, according to former Montreal journalist Jean-Pierre Charbonneau. In his book, *The Canadian Connection*, Charbonneau cited Buscetta's frequent contacts with Frank Costello, currently in a Montreal jail

appealing extradition to the United States to face narcotics charges.

The Sicilian's decision was apparently prompted by motives as much personal and professional. His allies—the Sicily-based families of Gaetano Badalamenti and Stefano Bontade—were losers in a 1982-83 war for control of Sicily's narcotics business. That conflict claimed the lives of seven Buscetta relatives, including two sons. But Buscetta denied seeking vengeance. "I did it because they tore up the internal peace—our rules," he reportedly told investigators. Indeed, according to Pura Arlacchi, Italy's pre-eminent expert on the Mafia, the struggle in Sicily and Buscetta's historic confession suggest that the organization itself is in the throes of fundamental change. It is no longer "an orderly and predictable system," Arlacchi said, "but a savage arena in which everyone has a right to do whatever he wants."

Still, even with Buscetta's recounting, Italian officials dismissed any suggestion that the Mafia's power might soon be eradicated. "I consider this as a transitional gap in the fight against organized crime," declared Interior Minister Oscar Luigi Scalfaro. "But we do not believe there is any serious intervention for old diseases that can remove them all in 30 seconds." Last week's arrests proved that Italy, with a weak central government and a ponderous legal system, could ease the offensive against the Mafia. But, as Scalfaro seemed to acknowledge, one major victory is not likely to end the war.

—MICHAEL PUNTER
with correspondents' reports



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An unexpected gift of peace

For two nations still technically at war, it was an unprecedented exchange. Docklands in the South Korean ports of Incheon and Pusan last week unloaded 14 North Korean ships laden with 100,000 tons of cement. A convoy of 150 trucks crossed the Busan River from the North, ferrying rice, medicine and textiles. For many South Koreans it was the first exposure to their northern neighbors since the stalemate end of the three-year Korean War in 1953.

Diplomats in Seoul said that the \$72-million emergency relief—for 200,000 homeless victims of floods last month—was part of North Korea's leader Kim Il Sung's so-called "north diplomacy," a new strategy of nonconfrontation with the capitalist South. The South Korean government accepted the gift, observers said, because it did not wish to be seen rejecting improvements in its tense relationship with the Communist North. Still, South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan remained wary. Said Chun: "We hope that there are no wicked schemes or ulterior motives lurking behind their smiles."

Chun's skepticism about Kim's motives was widely shared. For 20 years the short, bespectacled Kim has led one of the world's most secretive and repressive regimes. Indeed, even as last week's cargoes were unloaded, Chun warned of "sneaky movements" of North Koreans. tank units, guns and guided missile weapons systems along the demilitarized zone that has divided the Korean peninsula since the 1953 truce between Chinese-backed North and U.S.-led United Nations forces in the South.

Still, analysts noted the relative absence of propaganda as a positive sign. It suggested that after 34 years each side may finally be ready to end the hostility that has kept them both on a perilous and expensive — yet deadly — fix. In part, North Korea needs to rebuild its international reputation tarnished by widespread blame for the bomb assassination of 17 South Korean officials visiting the Japanese capital of Bangkok last year. The North's new-found openness also requires urgent attention. Under Kim the nation has followed a policy of self-reliance, but with disastrous results. Nearly one-quarter of its gross national product is allocated to military spending. And Pyongyang's (not itself) is only 16 per cent of that of its southern neighbor. Kim's latest seven-year plan, which ends in December, has ap-

parently failed to meet half its targets, aggravating an already acute shortage of foreign currency. Kim and his heretofore son, Kim Jong Il, have begun a different country of capitalist investors, complete with joint-venture legislation approved by North Korea's parliament. Japan, the principal object of those advances, has resumed unofficial contacts but nothing more.

Despite the pressure, few observers expect a swift improvement in relations between the two Koreas. Both governments routinely issue harsh condemnations.



Unloading aid, part of 'north diplomacy'

tion of one another, and the old enemies will linger. But Seoul also decoded signals that dialogue may continue. In appreciation for the relief aid the South Koreans sent 800 "gift packs" back across the unregulated border. Included in the parcels: digital watches, cooking hobs, tape recorders and women's underwear. At the same time, officials revealed that talks aimed at re-establishing contact between Red Cross societies in both countries may resume, after a seven-year adjournment. In the present climate even that modest initiative might be something to build on.

—PETER MCGILL
in Tokyo

BRITAIN

Resurrecting Labour's woes

When Britain's opposition Labour Party met for its annual convention last week in the seaside resort of Blackpool, the mood was acrimonious. Indeed, despite the efforts of party leader Neil Kinnock, 42, to encourage Labour's own debates—internal wrangling and political extremism—the party's divisions again threatened to undermine unity. Still last month Labour actually held a three-point lead in the opinion polls over Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative party. But pocket-line violence during the British coal miners' strike, new news reports and, has eroded public support for unions and their party. Still, the party's public relations chief Gwyneth Kenworthy: "The intransigent language, the turning is on ourselves, can only destroy all the policies which are important."

A convention debate on the miners' strike further soured the gathering. Throughout three days of uneasy argument, delegates inflicted humiliating defeats on their leaders. Then an unexpected development deepened embarrassment on the party. The British High Court ordered the miners' militant leader, Arthur Scargill, and four other union officials to comply with a judge's ruling that the strike in Yorkshire in (Blast, Scargill announced his willingness to go to jail rather than submit, but party leaders expressed concern that he would alienate voters by his dramatic defiance of his union. Warns was to follow. In the wake of police-union violence during the strike, delegates adopted a resolution demanding that a future Labour government should exclude police from any role in industrial disputes. In a swift response, Conservative Home Secretary Leon Brittan accused Labour of "taking leave of its senses."

The upsurge all but overshadowed an otherwise dramatic move. The convention approved by an 80-per-cent majority a resolution to rid Britain of all U.S. and British nuclear weapons. Kinnock took comfort from the fact that the resolution stopped short of calling for cuts in conventional arms or British withdrawal from NATO. But he also urged the party to avoid "activity that could impede our progress." Delegates accorded him an ovation, but the reception was markedly cool. Indeed, to many observers Labour's old problems were more acute than ever—fact that could only aid Thatcher's party.

—DANIEL NORTH in London.

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Mozambique: a tentative truce

The agreement was welcome, but surprising. After eight years of civil war, Mozambique's Marxist government of Frelimo and the right-wing rebel front of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) last week declared a ceasefire. The accord, reached after 60 hours of negotiations, was announced in Pretoria by South African Foreign Minister Marko "Bo" Botha, who arranged the armistice. Under its terms, Botha said, South Africa would provide troops to monitor the truce and chair a ceasefire commission made up of all parties to the long-standing conflict. The 10,000-15,000 members of the former Portuguese colony's armed forces and deserters from the national army—agreed to recognize Botha's presidency. In return, the MNR, also known as Renamo, would receive amnesty, financing and money toward resettlement. In the first instance, our forces will help plough the fields," Botha said, adding later that the armistice could lead to renewed foreign investment. But the first priority was to ensure that the truce holds. Less than 24 hours after the announcement, MNR sources said the war would not end until Botha guaranteed wholesale political reforms and the government attacked that the struggle "against banditry lies on the battlefield."

Taxes abolished, labor strikes

The good news was very good indeed with Iceland's parliament, the Althing, about to convene, officials of the nation's coalition government confirmed plans to abolish income taxes for more than 60 per cent of the island's 225,000 people. But that popular announcement was accompanied by developments that seemed far less appealing. First, to recover the revenues lost by the tax cuts, Prime Minister Steingrims Hermannsson proposed to raise sales taxes and to introduce a new value-added levy for consumer goods. Then the government had to deal with a series of strikes that threatened to leave Reykjavik, the capital, effectively cut off from the rest of the world. More 17,000 public-sector employees are engaged in an indefinite strike, in protest against the government's strict anti-inflationary economic policies. Last week radio and television stations were closed, as were schools,

and the island's ports were deserted as customs officials joined the walkout. Doctors, nurses and police remained on the job. But there was no public transport in Reykjavik. In less than 12 months the Hermannsson administration has brought the annual inflation rate down to 15 percent from 109. But that success was achieved on the strength of 10-percent pay cuts and a 10-month ban on strikes. Now, eager to recover lost wages, the unions are seeking increases of 40 per cent. As Iceland's 1,061-year-old parliament prepared to meet, observers expected stormy political weather.

The West points again at Khadafy

It has been a baffling incident of international terrorism. Last summer a series of nine explosions damaged 16 ships in the Red Sea. Then, more than half a dozen nations sent vessels to scour the waterway. Finally, last week Egypt reported the first conclusive results of the search—a discovery by a British newspaper of a Soviet-made explosive known as an asbestos mine. Western officials interpreted the finding as "persuasive circumstantial evidence" that a Libyan freighter, the *Albatros*, had played the drama in July. A mine that is triggered by the cone of a ship's engines, it had Soviet markings and carried less than a quarter of its normal weight in explosives, suggesting that it was intended to damage but not cripple shipping. Officials discounted any direct Soviet involvement, saying that Moscow had joined the international nonproliferation efforts and that a Soviet ship, the *Konst* Jensen, had been the first victim. But the evidence added, Moscow may well have sold the sophisticated device to Libya.

A hint of peace in October's air

In diplomatic circles it has become a variation on an old joke: If it's autumn, the United Nations must be discussing Kampuchea. If it's spring, the line north of the 38th parallel runs on. Vietnam's foreign minister, Nguyen Co Thach, arrived in New York last week to resume discussions about the future of Kampuchea, the neighbor once known as Cambodia, which Vietnams occupied in 1975. Fresh from a three-day visit to Japan, the first by a Vietnamese foreign minister in six years, Thach caused a flurry of excitement by hinting that

Hanoi might permit Tokyo to mediate a settlement of the Kampuchea conflict, in which Soviet-backed Vietnamese forces are fighting a coalition of factions supported by China and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). But the hint was so soon offered that it was revoked. Japan, Thach said, could not play mediator because it was not impartial. Instead, he called for an international conference attended by 15 nations to negotiate a settlement. That, too, appeared to represent a diplomatic advance, since Vietnam had previously rejected ASEAN's call for a tri-mediated solution to the war. But Thach quickly raised doubts about the sincerity of even that proposal. "We have no new peace plan," the foreign minister conceded. "Our plan is to withdraw in five or 10 years—no shorter, no longer." Optimists insist that Hanoi's severe economic burdens will eventually force it to compromise in Kampuchea. But last week, as the UN prepared to resume its annual debate, the pessimists seemed firmly in control.

The FBI uncovers an enemy within

Not since its founding 76 years ago has a single agent of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation been accused of working for a foreign government. Last week that enviable record was sullied by its first unenviable stain. In what officials described as a classic spy case, counterintelligence officer Richard Miller, 47, a father of eight children, was arrested and charged with selling secrets to two KGB agents—Svetlana and Nikolai Gogorodnikov—posing as Soviet emigrants in Los Angeles. In return for several meetings with the 24-year-old Svetlana, an alleged high malar operating undercover to a name, and \$45,000 in gold and cash, Miller is accused of giving the Soviets classified FBI documents. Nikolai, 51, who worked as a butcher in a sausage factory, allegedly handled the financial transfers. The couple, now separated, emigrated to the United States in 1973. Miller, a 30-year FBI veteran, was described by acquaintances as something of a bumbler—overweight, poorly dressed and not highly regarded for his espionage skills. The value of the secrets Miller sold to the Soviets, however, remained unclear. Administration officials suggested that the damage to U.S. intelligence operations was limited. But even more than the disclosures, Miller's act of betrayal shocked the agency. Said FBI Director William Webster: "This is a very bad day for us."

WE WERE ALL OLDER,
MAYBE WISER, BUT WE HADN'T
CHANGED THAT MUCH.

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Chicago-born **Clara** ("Where's the best?" **Pelley**, four feet, 10 inches and 84 years old, says she ran a beauty salon for 30 years before TV-commercial maker **Joan's** **Salon** discovered her hands 12 years ago. **Said Pelley**: "I was looking for a manicurist, and I wasn't really one but I did it in my shop because it was good for business—and the girls thought it was beautiful then." **Consequently** secured a address for **Pelley** until last January when **Wendy's** **Interiors** Inc. launched its new-famous advertising campaign featuring a skeptical **Pelley** examining what viewers are supposed to believe are hamburgers in **Wendy's** oval fast-food stores. **Said the celebrity grandmother**: "I can't go anywhere without being stopped. My grandchildren bring their school chums home and get me to say 'Where's the best?'" She claims she has liked **Wendy's** burgers ever since one of her seven grandchildren her to try one about four years ago. "I like them plain with no junk on them," she said, adding "I wouldn't go to **Wendy's** for dinner, though. It's really only lunch food."

New Alberta made a phenomenal **big**, 22, plans to leave her home province on Oct. 9 to begin her first tour of major Canadian cities. The country singer/songwriter has performed onstage with her band, the **Redskins**, for a year and released two albums, a **Today** **Western Exposure**, in August. **Said**

long, who claims to be a reincarnation of the late **Pelley** **Clara**: "Saying is my most desired creation. I really do feel that link with her." Claiming to be "too broke to afford my own bus," one of the benchmarks of success in the country music business, long says she is looking forward to her tour anyway because "it will be a chance to play for people who understand what we are doing." Born and raised in **Conestoga**, **Alb.** (pop. 650), long says growing up in a small town left her with an ability to communicate musically with audiences, but she has trouble describing her style. "The best way I can put it," she said, "is to call it a best-selling wrangling **Daddy-O** of a good time."



McNair is the former **United** **Her**

The first reports put **McNair** **McNair** on the **Radio** **McNair** with her **Peter** **Gowd** to reveal "insider" information on the changing political scene in **Ottawa**. But last week the **McNair** issued a formal announcement saying that **journalist** **Sandra** **Gwyn** would be the regular informant, and, because of the corporation's nonpartisan mandate, **Tory** **McNair** would join her for eight weeks, followed by former **Liberal** cabinet minister **Janis-Luc** **Papin** and later by former **NDP** political strategist **Gerald** **Caplan**—insider info in all three political spheres. Two days before the first segment of the series aired on Oct. 5, **Gwyn** said any dispute between the roles of the two women had been settled because "there has been a compromise." But **Gwyn** maintained that **McNair** had emerged as the principal player. **McNair** said the disagreement had quieted her because it followed "rumor of my imminent divorce" as dis-



Wagner struggling pipe through the mud

ly **Caught** in the middle, **McNair** **Gowd** discussed the affair as "a bra-lains," and added, "I like them both."

Advertising that pipe are his passion, **Thomas** **Haggy**, 32, a pig farmer's son from **Beulah**, **Ont.**, created **Playboy** in 1957, a magazine that he called "an entertainment for some breeders." Haggy, who claims that the only reason pigs do not rule the world is because "they couldn't leap out of their pens," has published seven issues of **Playboy** and distributed a total of 50,000 copies throughout the world. The magazine first gained North American attention in February, 1963, when **Johnny** **Cassan** displayed a "Littermate of the Month" contest, featuring a **Biggie**-clad sow, as **The Thought** **Shaw**. On Nov. 15 **Harvard** **Press**, a company Haggy founded last year with partners **Orville** **phar** **Lewy** and **Maudie** **Wadde**, plans to publish **The Best of Playboy**, including illustrations using pigs as humans to satirize such pop classics as the **Budweiser** beer commercial "Madness," captioned "This **Mad** is for you," a clock-by-jowl with such articles as "A Swine's Guide to Etiquette" and "How to Be a Proper Boar." **Said Haggy**: "As a child growing up on the farm, I always thought that pigs were smarter than I was. I figured the first chance I got, I'd drag pigs through the mud. You know—do something nice for them."

—EDITED BY BETTE LADENBERG

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Long **Pelley** **Clara** **reincarnated?**



General Dynamics submarine construction secretly made tape recordings with troubling results.

BUSINESS/ECONOMY

A defence scandal deepens

By James Flansburg
and William Lowther

For Panagiotis Triakos (Takis) Velleios, a Greek-born millionaire and fugitive from U.S. justice, it was a dramatic counterintelligence in a two-year-long legal battle to avoid grave criminal charges. The former executive of St. Louis-based General Dynamics Corp. (GD), the world's largest defense contractor, fled to Athens in 1982 (just months before a U.S. federal grand jury indicted him on charges of accepting kickbacks in an embankment scheme involving GD and a now-defunct supplier. For months, in an attempt to win lenient immunity from prosecution on those charges, Velleios has been handing documents over to federal investigators—documents that he claims show that GD subcontracted inflated amounts to the U.S. Navy for construction of more than 10 nuclear-attack submarines during the 1970s. But in September Velleios provided the most troubling evidence yet in his attempts to discredit the company—which steadfastly insists that it is innocent of any wrongdoing.

From his refuge in Greece—as a Greek national he cannot be extra-

dicted—Velleios sent two secretly made tape recordings of telephone conversations between himself and GD chairman David Lewis and the firm's chief financial officer, Gordon MacDonald, to the justice department in Washington. The tapes were made by Velleios while he was general manager of GD's Electronic Division, in Graven, Conn., in 1977 and 1981. Their contents led the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to begin a preliminary investigation into whether GD possibly had fully notified the SEC and the public—as required by law—about cost overruns and manpower problems in a submarine construction program that might have affected the company's share price.

Congressman John Dingell (D-Mich.), as the chairman of a Congressional subcommittee investigating Velleios's stream of allegations against GD, requested

that the SEC begin an investigation. Said Dingell last week: "The recordings raise serious questions about [GD] management integrity." In a letter to SEC chairman John Shad, Dingell said that the contents of the first tape, made on Nov. 30, 1977, suggest that both Lewis and MacDonald may have knowingly issued a press release which did not reveal delays and cost overruns in order to

"stop the slide in General Dynamics' stock." As outlined to Dingell's letter, in the second tape, made on Oct. 7, 1981, Lewis "suggests that Mr. Velleios stay a subordinate from completing a new cost-to-complete study on the 688 attack submarine program because auditors may discover the report and General Dynamics would have to disclose the information to the SEC."

Velleios also supplied a copy of the second tape to The Washington Post. According to the Post, the taped conversation

Laurel under wraps



concerned a GD Assistant General Manager who had discovered the cost overrun at a time when the company was negotiating with the navy for more business. The tape makes clear that Lewis wanted to keep the manager quiet for a few weeks until the new contracts were signed—contracts that would bring in enough revenue to offset the overrun on the existing submarine program. On the tape Lewis said to Velleios that they should suggest to the manager that he might be promoted. The purpose, to prevent him from talking until they could fire him. When Velleios said, "I don't think it's the best thing to do," Lewis responded, "It isn't the best thing to do, but it's the best thing to do, consider or in." In an interview with the Post, Lewis confirmed that the tape was genuine. But he said everything he did was proper because he considered the general manager an unqualified cost estimator who did not understand that GD was pursuing a prudent course approved by company attorneys. The strategy to re-open cost overruns either through insurance claims against the navy or by revenues from new navy contracts.

The revelations on the tapes only added to the mounting pressure on General Dynamics. The justice department and two congressional inquiries are already weighing evidence provided by Velleios and are trying to determine the truth of Velleios's claims. GD deliberately submitted artificially low bids to win navy contracts, then later recovered the cost overruns from the navy by claiming that they were not cost faults. Last August Richard Kaufman, the chief counsel to the justice department, told a Capitol Hill hearing that there was truth in Velleios's charges and Lewis dismissed Velleios as "an indicted felon, bent on revenge." For its part, GD denied all allegations and, in pointing out that the justice department federal grand jury had brought no charges.

As for Velleios, there was no sign last week that he was any closer to winning limited immunity from prosecution on the charges facing him over a kickback and embankment operation involving GD and a GD subcontractor, Prigmore Corp. In July, Velleios failed to appear at a New York district court to face fraud charges. A co-defendant, James Gilchrist, a Canadian businessman who was Velleios's deputy at GD also failed to show up. George Davis, a co-defendant and a former vice-president of Prigmore, did stand trial. On July 30 he was convicted on 19 counts of conspiring to defraud millions from GD and Prigmore. According to the court's findings between 1974 and 1979 Davis funneled \$2.7 million to the Swiss bank accounts of both Velleios and Gilchrist in order to win contracts from GD. He is due to be sentenced on Oct. 12.

Taking a collision course



Andrew (left) with angry words, contract disputes and the threat of a strike.

The setting was elegant but the talk was abrasive. Within the plush confines of Toronto's Regal York Hotel, intense contract talks were under way last week between negotiators for General Motors of Canada Ltd. (GM) and 36,000 members of the United Auto Workers union (UAW). Their purpose was to reach agreement on a new contract before the union's Oct. 17 strike deadline. But the prospect of labor strife increased last week when the union angrily rejected an initial wage and benefits offer tabled by GM management. Modified on a tentative settlement reached on Sept. 21 by GM's Detroit-based parent and 280,000 UAW workers in the United States, the Canadian firm's offer included a 24-per-cent wage increase in the first year and jump-sum payments in the second and third years. Disappointed that the company did not offer a larger increase in wages and fewer work hours, Canadian union director Robert White declared, "Unless there is a fundamental change of direction, it will be almost impossible to reach a verdict."

White's stand underlined his resolve to win different gains than his U.S. counterparts in the current round of negotiations with the auto industry. Both U.S. and Canadian auto workers see gains in share in the rejuvenated profits of GM, Ford and Chrysler—expected to reach a total of \$15 billion this year, compared to \$6.8 billion in 1983. But while Owen Bieber, president of the 509,946-member American UAW,

stressed the need for job security in bargaining, White is resolved to make wage gains a goal. Although details of the U.S. deal will not be fully disclosed until it is ratified this week by GM employees, it includes unprecedented job security provisions designed to protect workers from the tendency of North American automakers to lay off and build cars in foreign countries.

In explaining GM Canada's new offer Rod Andrew, the firm's chief negotiator, agreed with the union that auto industry labor costs in Canada are \$5.50 (U.S.)-per-hour less than in the United States. The reason is addition to the lower value of the Canadian dollar, GM pays less in medical insurance, pension and social security costs for Canadian workers. But Andrew said the disparity should not be a factor in the talks because the Canadian dollar will continue to fluctuate in value, while contract terms remain firm.

For his part, White contended that Canadian workers are not as threatened by job losses caused by the automakers' "self-interest" of parts and cars—buying them abroad. It appeared last week that White is prepared to repeat his uneven performance in the 1982 talks with Chrysler Canada Ltd., when he took his members out on a five-week strike and won a better deal than already agreed to by his U.S. counterparts. Declared White, "We are determined."

—DAVE SILBERT

Fighting a sobering trend

By Gillian MacKay

Daniel Seaks, soft-spoken financial czar of the Beersmith family-owned Seagram Co. Ltd. of Montreal, readily concedes that the world's largest distiller faces a major challenge—the sobering of North America. From its bootlegging beginnings in the Prohibition era, Seagram has built its fortunes on North America's insatiable thirst for whiskey. But times have changed, and now the health-conscious

consumer has taken a particular dislike to hard Seagram's T Crown, long the top-selling brand of whiskey in the United States, now lags far behind Blended Scotch and Smirnoff vodka in popularity. Blended whiskeys and other browns liquors, which produce the bulk of Seagram's revenues, accounted for only 40 per cent of the U.S. market in 1980 compared to 55 per cent a decade earlier.

So far, Seagram has survived more easily than most of its competitors. The major reason: it has a 33-per-cent stake in U.S. chemical giant Du Pont, a holding that has helped to stave off a crisis and launched Seagram into a new era of profitability. Seagram bought 59.2 per cent of the firm for \$2.6 billion in 1982, later increasing its holding to the current level. The company's holdings in Du Pont accounted for 41 per cent of the \$197-million (U.S.) profit Seagram posted in the first half of 1984. In the same period a year earlier the profit was only \$158 million.

Montreal financiers Charles and Edgar Beersmith, who own 40 per cent of Seagram, are gradually increasing their involvement in Du Pont. Seagram now has three members on Du Pont's board of directors, and the distiller's executives take part in meetings of Du Pont's industrial executive committees. Although the Beersmiths agreed with Du Pont in 1981 to restrict their holdings in the company to 48 per cent for 30 years, some analysts speculate that they will step up their acquisition program. Stud Harold Welden of Nesbitt Thomas Seagram, Inc. "The Beersmiths are not the types to sit on their hands."

The Du Pont holding has given Seagram the financial clout to fight for survival in the liquor markets of the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1970s the company was slow to enter the burgeoning wine market, and industry observers criticized its overall business approach. In 1983, Seagram finally took a plunge with the \$28-million purchase of the



Charles Beersmith: an aggressive new thrust

the shift to healthier habits is one of many factors that have shadowed the multi-billion-dollar North American liquor industry in recent years. An increasingly vocal anti-drunk driving lobby and heavy excise taxes have also taken their toll. In Canada, federal and provincial taxes on wine and spirits have risen by 30 per cent in the past two years. And Ottawa's decision last week to impose a one-percentage-point tax increase on Canadian wine retailers added to the distiller's burden. When passed on to consumers the increase will mean that taxes will account for 60 per cent of a \$14 bottle of whiskey. Not surprisingly, the taxes are reducing liquor sales. Ray Bettridge, a senior analyst with the Toronto-based investment firm McLeod Young Weir, estimates that Canadian liquor consumption will decline by eight per cent in 1984.

But it is the postwar baby boomer's penchant for lighter, sweeter drinks

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PROFIT FROM OUR EXPERIENCE

Carney's honeymoon tour

During the last federal election campaign, the Conservative party's then-energy critic, Pat Carney, revealed that his party had reached "a quiet little secret" with the Conservative provincial premiers and energy ministers. They had agreed, and Carney, to keep better interprovincial disputes on energy issues off the campaign trail so as not to impede the Tories' easy walk to victory. But last week the newly anointed energy minister threw these divorce policy disputes back into the public eye. She launched cross-country meetings to discuss energy policy with four of her provincial counterparts. Carney's purpose: to reveal an way to quickly revive the stagnant energy sector.

Carney's most crucial meeting—last Tuesday with Alberta Energy Minister John Zuzovay—was clearly satisfactory to both sides. The two ministers emerged smiling after two hours of apparently amiable talks. In fact, the conciliatory mood had been set in September by Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed when he indicated that Alberta would agree to a modest extension of federal-provincial oil and gas revenue-sharing agreements that are set to expire on Dec. 31. Both the province and Ottawa say that the deadline cannot be met. Carney would not reveal the details of her talks in Alberta or of those with provincial ministers in Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. But she did stress that her tour was designed to help her draw up a list of "short-term priorities" which will have the "quickest impact" on job creation.

The energy industry and oil-producing provinces, after suffering under the nationalistic policies of the Liberals, clearly regard Carney as an ally. During her four-year term as energy critic, the Vancouver Centre MP and former economic journalist sided with the oil industry in urging massive increases of the federal government's energy prices. Last spring she also helped negotiate a draft offshore resource agreement with the Newfoundland government which met many of the province's revenue-sharing demands.

What is more, the Conservative party made welcome promises during the campaign that pleased energy conservatives. Among other things, the Tories declared that the price for Canadian oil should rise to world market levels and that they would "phase out" the federal Petroleum Gas Refining Tax (PGRT)—a 12-per-cent levy on oil and gas production which brings in \$2.5 billion annually to the federal treasury. Energy firms say that the PGRT should be scrapped and replaced by a

system that taxes oil industry profits rather than production revenues, a change that would reduce the amount paid by the companies.

The industry also opposes the federal government's Petroleum Incentives Program (PIP). To qualify for maximum grants, exploration companies must be 51-per-cent Canadian-owned, a condition that the industry considers discriminatory against foreign-owned multinationals. "The Liberal government sees the PIP as an important part of its threat to Canadianize the petroleum



Carney (left), Zuzovay: Interprovincial energy squabbles and demands for change

sector, and there is some evidence that the measure was effective. In 1980 only 38.1 per cent of the oil and gas industry was owned by Canadians. By the end of 1983 the Canadian ownership rate had increased to 37.2 per cent.

Arne Nielsen, chairman of the Canadian Petroleum Association (CPA), which represents all the major oil companies, says that the intent of the program was laudable but its methods are wrong. "Bad Nielsen" "We support Canadianization but we think it should be done by offering special incentives to investors in Canadian oil and gas companies, not by discriminating against foreign-owned companies."

At the same time, the new federal government faces decisions that might aggravate its relations with energy-consuming provinces such as Ontario and Quebec. The Tories are on record as

being in favor of oil price deregulation, which would allow the Canadian price to move to world prices, currently \$18 a barrel, from \$29.75 a barrel. That would appease the industry and governments of such oil-and-gas-producing provinces as Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, but would increase energy costs in Central Canada.

The new-traditional Alberta-Ontario energy rift would also be exacerbated by the deregulation of natural gas prices, a change wanted by western provinces. Gas export prices in the United States are now pegged to a base price of \$3.17 (U.S.) per thousand cubic feet, which is the amount charged to consumers and

industries in Ontario and Quebec. Alberta wants to be able to drop the price of its exports to the United States to meet U.S. buyers' demands for lower prices. But that could result in Central Canadian consumers who must bear the brunt of high transmission costs, paying more for western gas than U.S. customers.

Carney was engaged last week on how and when she would deal with these contentious matters. Still, she said that deregulation of energy prices "will be the heart of the negotiations which will be taking place in the next two or three months." The outcome of those talks, even if they are successful, will likely mean the Conservative minister's honeymoon on energy issues at least in some key parts of the country.

—HELENA STERNARD in Calgary, with
Ann Stewart in Toronto



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The rush to electronic banking

Electronic banking, a system in which machines replace humans at the teller's window, is poised to transform the way most Canadians do business with financial institutions and major retailers. Since the Bank of Commerce installed the first Automated Teller Machine (ATM) in Toronto in 1969, the machines have increasingly displaced their slower and more costly human counterparts. Canadian institutions—major banks—currently have more than 5,000 ATMs in place across Canada, with almost half of them in Ontario. The banks' machines, under

choice in Canada would increase to more than 3,000 by January, 1985. One machine can handle as many as 22,000 transactions a month, more than four times the number processed by a person. As well, according to a U.S. study, an ATM transaction costs banks 22.5 cents, compared to 80 cents for one done by an employee.

So far, banks have led the way in switching to automatic tellers. But trust companies plan to have 150 machines in place by early 1985, compared to 90 today, and credit unions, which have taken the lead in forming shared networks,



Automated Teller Machine users: new rivals entering a rapidly burgeoning field

such trademarks as Interacbank, Instant Teller and The Green Machine, are already numerous in major urban centers where consumers have quickly taken to making withdrawals and deposits without ever coming in contact with a bank employee. But ATMs are about to become as ubiquitous as bank branches once were.

A race is now on between trust companies, credit unions and major retailers to form shared, nationwide ATM networks. By joining together to set up a network of machines using one trademark, the firms can offer clients greater choice—a customer would be able to withdraw money from his credit union and deposit it in his bank account at one ATM. In a study released last week that documents the growth prospects for ATMs, Toronto-based Evans Research Corp. predicted that the number of ma-

chineses in Canada would increase to more than 3,000 by January, 1985. One machine can handle as many as 22,000 transactions a month, more than four times the number processed by a person. As well, according to a U.S. study, an ATM transaction costs banks 22.5 cents, compared to 80 cents for one done by an employee.

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Mini-tub emergency #22.



Oh no. In the week you've had him he's already exchanged his bone for your shorts. Now his new blanket looks alarmingly like your best sweater. Brace yourself. It's another mini-tub emergency.

Fortunately, the mini-tub is especially made for those extra delicate things you usually have to hand wash. So you know you can trust it with that fluffy sweater, all your hosiery, lingerie or baby things.

The mini-tub is perfect for small loads too. You never use more water than you have to, so favorite jeans and shirts that can't wait for a full load can still be washed economically.

But we know families have big, tough loads too. And our washers handle them, with heavy duty motors and large tubs. Bleach and fabric softeners are dispensed automatically to save you the extra work.

Then, give it all over to a G.E. dryer. It handles every type of fabric with precise care and takes the guesswork out of

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We pride ourselves on solving all your laundry emergencies quickly and easily. However, there's one hand washable we won't touch. If you can't see him, he's probably creating mini-tub emergency #23 right now.



The G.E. washer has Automatic Dry Sense. A large tub for delicate loads and the mini-tub for hand-washables or small loads.

We bring good things to life.



GENERAL ELECTRIC

A state of commercial grace

By Peter C. Newman

A Las Colinas, halfway between Dallas and the Fort Worth airport, Texas with big spas and villas to match are transiting J.R. Ewing's fantasy lifestyle into a playground for all and cattle barons who live well, play hard and generally don't live cash that's printed every dollar bill. There's a luxurious complex that has its own canal system and monorail links, studios with the ambience of Louis XIV. boudoirs and one new world-class hotel, The Mandarin Four Seasons.

The Mandarin—plus three other of the state's most lavish hotels—are run by Iadone (Roy) Sharp, the Toronto hotel whiz who this week was en route to manage the multimillion-dollar Las Colinas sports and conference centre. Roy Sharp, chairman of Four Seasons Hotels, is one of those rare enthusiasts in the business world who manages to combine street-smarts with a sense of style that adds a delicate touch to the tension line between elegance and extravagance. As well as the four Texas locations, a new Four Seasons is being built in Newport Beach, Calif., and a 280-room hotel is being completed in Boston. Sharp builds the hotels as joint ventures with outside investors, retaining about 30-per-cent equity plus profitable management contracts. When Seattle's classic Olympic Hotel was added to the chain, the 360 million spent on renovations reduced the number of rooms to 451 from 756.

One of Sharp's personally satisfying acquisitions was the Sixteen management contract he signed in 1980 to operate The Pierre, New York's most fashionable hotel-residence. Judging this contract to have become saturated with his symbiotic hoteliers, Sharp recently forced a partnership with Peter Fu, chairman of Singapore's Real Investments Ltd. A major Asian oil trading company, Real already owns the Singapore Hilton, the Vista Hotel in New York and has purchased the Four Seasons in Montreal. Sharp's new international deal could result in as many as 20 new hotels in Europe (Paris, Frankfurt and Zurich) and the Far East (Tokyo and Singapore).

At the moment the Four Seasons' only operation outside North America is in London's line on the Park. In terms of revenues and occupancy rates, it ranks as one of the world's most successful hotels. Because there are so many first-class hotels in the British capital al-

ready—the Dorchester, Claridge's, the Connaught and the Savoy—the original developers of the line on the Park's prestigious location wanted to build 320 moderate-size rooms. "These market research," Sharp recalls, "indicated that another first-class hotel would fail. It was very logical, but it just didn't seem to fit. We told the developers we would pay the full rent they wanted for their 200-room structure but that they would have to redesign it to meet our standards and build only 200 rooms to the

chairs. The other partner was Arnold Coder, the Toronto lawyer who got eight per cent for first, incorporating them. Sharp owns the remaining 52 per cent and recently privatized the company, which has annual revenues of about \$50 million.

Every hotel advertisement exclaims at some level, but how hotels can afford to provide it with the same standards of the Four Seasons executives. "Cheap doesn't sell any more," says Sharp. "Good quality at a fair price goes anywhere. Quality isn't luxury. It's a combination of performance and price that adds up to value—a pleasant experience enhanced by luxury."

Four Seasons has no set formula for achieving such a state of commercial grace, but an important element is attention to detail. When its Toronto hotel was being planned, Sharp insisted on spending an extra \$40,000 for vitreous bricks in the driveway instead of asphalt, the bill for fresh flowers at the hotel is more than \$45,000 a year. When Roy Dymert, one of the hotel's hallmarks, forgot to include a departing dignitary's briefcase with his luggage, he paid his own way to Washington and delivered the case personally to the worried guest. "You can't buy that kind of dedication," Sharp says. "All you can do is try to create a climate to earn it."

Four Seasons employees enjoy profit-sharing plans, get two "stress breaks" a day and are encouraged to keep notes on guests' preferences. "It starts with recruiting," says Sharp. "We look according to personalities, not training or experience, so that we often have university graduates as doormen, and we pay our front-desk people 100 or three times what they might expect because they represent us to the public." The staff:guest ratio at Four Seasons hotels is usually 3:1, compared with the industry's average of 5:1.

It takes nerves of platinum to continue building world-class hotels when the international economy seems to swing between partially weak recovery and impending meltdown. But Sharp is not deterred. "We exist through the last recession proofed enough in people's minds that we retained a huge chunk of the quality market. We used to believe that to compete we should try to be the best in everything. Now we know we have to be not just best, but exceptional."

At a time Canada's corporate world is searching for excellence, Roy Sharp is building an international empire on it.



Sharp: delight in superbly hospitable

same space. They were afraid. They called me 'that crazy Canadian,' but we had faith in our judgment rather than in their research, and it was the right decision."

Sharp, born in Toronto 52 years ago, inherited his father Max's eye for good architecture and heard it when they ran a construction company together. Twenty years ago he formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Eddie Crod (who owns a major Toronto fashion emporium), and Murray Kaffer (chairman of Shoppers Drug Mart). They each still retain 30 per cent of the Four Seasons

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The NHL: new players and big money

Except for a handful of superstars and veteran journeymen, the young ones who earn a rich 11 short-term living playing in the National Hockey League (NHL) are mainly anonymous blockers who glide through professional sports' largest season in pursuit of fat paychecks and the slim possibility of Stanley Cup glory. Having completed a 90-game exhibition schedule, the 21 teams in the NHL this week began the league's fifth season, an 800-game grind to eliminate five of their number before the survivors face off in the annual six-week playoff competition next April. Few of the regular-season games will reach the intensity of last month's six-series Canada Cup tournament—won against the odds by a Canadian team of veterans—and none of them will match the international controversy still swirling. Still, the public's appetite for the sport, product endears and the game's promoters plan to feed it even larger portions via television, if a legal dispute involving Canadian TV rights can be resolved. Said an experienced NHL executive John Ziegler: "Every team thinks it is substantially improved. We will just have to wait and see."

Last year, when the young and swift Wayne Gretzky ended the New York Rangers' four-year string of Stanley Cup victories, a record 12,486,784 spectators attended NHL regular-season and playoff games. This year, with the Oilers widely favored to repeat as champions and Gretzky expected to continue his reign as savior of the NHL's multimillion-dollar ratings, Ziegler said the league expects fan interest will continue to grow. Among the reasons: even tighter competition in the already tough Patrick Division, where the New York Rangers, Washington Capitals and Philadelphia Flyers will threaten the Islanders' dominance; the expected emergence of the young, Oiler-like Buffalo Sabres as a powerhouse under veteran general manager Scott Bowman; and the arrival of yet another bumper crop of teenage talents, including Wayne Gretzky of the Pittsburgh Penguins, Kirk Muller of the hapless New Jersey Devils and Petr Brestova of the Montreal Canadiens, an 18-year-old defenseman who was good enough to play for the Czech junior national team and who defeated last year's champion.

But the rush to sign 18-year-olds and promote the champions (Oilers) whose on-ice youth troubled some hockey fans, including Alan Eagleson, executive di-

rector of the NHL Players' Association. According to Eagleson, although salaries are higher than ever—current NHL average: \$230,000, up \$10,000 from last year—careers are shorter, averaging a mere five seasons. Said Eagleson: "The psychological, physical and emotional transition facing a player jumping to the NHL at 18 is immense. Many recent exits. During the past few years there has been a tremendous turnover. I don't



NHL's Ziegler: 'all of this is very painful'

the average NHL fan is even receptive [to the players on each team]." Far less, however, when the financially pressed Penguins chase first overall in the NHL entry draft last summer, second aware of the pressure he faced. Said Lemieux, a six-foot, four-inch center who had a brilliant career in the Quebec Junior League: "I'm not crying here as a novice and I hope the fans don't expect me to turn the franchise around overnight."

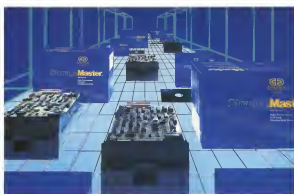
Although both Ziegler and Eagleson, who, in effect, represent management

and labor in professional hockey, insist that the NHL is financially sound, the Pittsburgh franchise is only one of several struggling to make a profit. Two others that Eagleson cited as "financial soft spots": Winnipeg Jets and Los Angeles Kings. While success at the gate tends to flow from success on the ice, television revenues have become increasingly important as operating costs have continued to climb. This season a long-term licensing agreement gave away Canadian television rights to NHL games as well as the revenue rivalry between two Canadian beer companies—Molson Breweries of Canada Ltd., which owns the Montreal Canadiens, and Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Ltd., which owns the Quebec Nordiques—seems destined for the courts.

In the dispute the NHL's 14 U.S. franchises and the Nordiques are lined up against the six other Canadian teams. Since 1985 Molson's has bought exclusive Canadian TV rights to the Saturday-night NHL games produced by Hockey Night in Canada and carried over the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. Under the current arrangement the Canadiens, Toronto Maple Leafs, Jets, Calgary Flames, Oilers and Vancouver Canucks will receive between \$1 million and \$3 million a year in television revenue. But, because of the beer-sales rivalry, Carling O'Keefe's Nordiques have not been participants. To stand, the Quebec franchise and the U.S.-based teams have received an average of \$200,000 a year for their participation in Hockey Night in Canada games.

To increase their television revenue, the U.S. clubs have joined the Nordiques in a partnership and negotiated an exclusive sponsorship deal with Carling O'Keefe and the independent CTV television network, which plans to carry regular-season games on Friday and Sunday nights. But buyers for Molson's, citing a 10-year agreement on NHL television rights signed in 1985, intend to fight the plan. Said Ziegler: "All of this is very painful." Added Eagleson: "Both sides have dug in, and common sense is not the solution." As play began this week the franchise owners, sponsors, players and fans shared a long and possibly bitter winter.

—DONALD RABINOVITZ in Winnipeg



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YOUTH

A death in the family

Last June '86, three months before his 18th birthday, Richard Cardinal hanged himself from a piece of wood nailed between two trees at his foster parents' home near Bangalo, Alta. He was the 18th youth to die under a variety of circumstances in the province in little more than a year while under government care, and his suicide prompted renewed calls by the opposition New Democrats for reform of the Alberta department of social services and community health. Last week the results of the investigation of Cardinal's death by Raymond Thomlinson, dean of social welfare at the University of Calgary, strengthened those demands. Thomlinson's conclusion the department provided better service arranging Cardinal's funeral than it did moving him through 16 foster homes and six group homes in 14 years.

As well, Thomlinson said that three other children in the regional office responsible for Cardinal's welfare were potential suicide victims. Declared Thomlinson in a 10-page report, "this danger has been played in so many foster homes as Richard experienced. I would suggest that three children appear to be somewhat at risk. One child in particular has now been placed in a new different foster home." As a result, Alberta Social Services Minister Neil Webber has ordered department officials in north-western Alberta to look for suicide risks and has undertaken to make reform of the province's child welfare system his personal priority.

Cardinal first entered government care when social workers removed him from an alcoholic Mennonite family in northern Alberta in 1978, the day before his fourth birthday. Before he died, 13 years and eight months later, 58 social workers had handled the files on a difficult child who was prone to bed-wetting and rebelliousness. And Cardinal himself was painfully aware of how frequent moves adversely affected him. In a journal entitled "I was a victim of child abuse," he wrote before he arrived at his last foster parents' home. "I didn't want to go on to live any more. I had been hurt so many times so I began blocking out all emotions and I shut out the rest of the world." Commented Thomlinson: "The child in the care of a government agency should be subjected to this number of moves and consequent turn-of-home relocations."

Indeed, Leo and Terry Crothers, Cardinal's last foster parents, rushed that he needed expert attention. Three days

after he arrived in Bangalo, Cardinal, who had previously tried to kill himself at least twice, pulled a board between two trees, referring to the device as "his hanging tree." In a letter in July to Webber, the Crothers charged that social workers had ignored their pleas for help. Thomlinson agreed, adding that

the department's management of Cardinal's case was generally "of a very low quality" and that from 1977 until his death it was unacceptable.

There are 15,000 children in the Alberta government's custody, more than 40 per cent of them Indian or Métis, and Thomlinson is anxious that they do not suffer Cardinal's fate. Unless changes take place quickly, Thomlinson's revelations and the record of Webber's department make it clear that many of the province's young people face a dangerous future.

—GORDON LOGGIE in Calgary

Tia Maria

"What do you say we go for a drink after?"

Tia Maria
ORIGINAL



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LABOR

A victory underground

Because the 150 miners at Palenbridge Copper's Lac Defaut copper and zinc mine near Bays, Que., were angry that their employer had refused to yield on two outstanding complaints, they adopted an unusual and dangerous protest tactic late last month. Provided only with a few crescent rolls and coffee, 36 of these chose to remain in a lunchroom more than half a mile below ground until the company met their demands. One issue was Palenbridge's refusal to pay full overtime wages for weekend work, but the other demand was no unconventional as the protest: the miners demanded the first of transfer of the mine's underground manager, Raymond Gauthier, accusing him of treating them "in a disrespectful and arrogant fashion." The miners remained isolated below ground while the union and management conducted negotiations and the miners' wives demonstrated outside the mine's locked gates. And when the men were hungry, haggard and hungry after four days underground, they had won a partial victory.

The miners related only after they had secured a written agreement from Palenbridge which promised improved work schedules and premium payments for overtime. The company also agreed not to dock the wages of the 26 prisoners or their fellow workers, when the company had locked out of the mine during the protest. But the company stood firm on the issue of its underground manager. Said Palenbridge spokesman Ann O'Quinn: "The company has confidence in Gauthier and does not intend to let him go."

For the miners, the company's vote of confidence in Gauthier was not the only irritant that survived the settlement. They remained angry over the company's refusal to allow their union to send food down the shaft. Said André Gervais, representative of United Brotherhood of America Local 9819: "The company tried to starve our guys out." For its part, the company questioned the workers' motives. O'Quinn called the protest a "pre-emptive act" which the union took on the knowledge that an arbitrator's verdict on the work schedule dispute was imminent. But Gervais insisted that the protest was spontaneous and added that the compromise that the men won justified their desperate gamble. Said Gervais: "It taken risks to get results." □



Bob Mader and Claude Champagne, Montreal, collaborating with new musical pleasures.

MUSIC

The composers' frontier

Few art forms have driven both critics and audiences alike to such bewilderment as the "musical" more complex since the First World War. Since that, Allen Berg and Anton Webern, two pioneers of modern atonal composition, founded the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) in 1922. In its heyday years in the 1930s, the ISCM promoted works by Béla Bartók, Igor Stravinsky and Edgard Varèse—composers whose works have since joined the standard classical repertoire. The Paris-based, 20-member-company once joined the establishment by becoming an affiliate of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Meanwhile, the century's experimental composers continued to outstrip broad-based acceptance of their work in the 1980s outrageous works such as John Cage's "432"—four minutes and 32 seconds of silence—captured media attention but left the public as alienated as ever. Now there are a few refreshing signs of change. Last week the ISCM's annual festival of pioneers and innovators, World Music Days, concluded its first visit to Canada, splitting 12 days of events between Toronto and Montreal, and its concerts explored the intriguing difficulties of interesting a broad audience without losing tra-

ditional melodic elements, contemporary composers are increasingly experimenting with different approaches. Some are turning to more humorous, satirical styles of composition. Others, including Canadian Gordon Monahan, are exploring new musical possibilities in a single instrument. In *Piano Monahan*, Monahan's genre-winning composition, he structured and played the piano's various strings to startling effect. Still other musicians are cross-fertilizing their works with dance, art and dance. World Music Days' audiences did not respond by humming along. But in Toronto the festival drew a healthy 50-per-cent attendance rate, while Montreal's audience reached an astonishing 75 per cent.

Typical of the reversal many composers are making was Gusto del Sole, a richly orchestrated neoromantic work by British's Bernard Budge. One of 45 works which the festival's jury selected last November out of 883 submitted from around the world, Gusto del Sole's retreat from the experimental trends in modern music has also won approval from another corner—the 1984 Pulitzer Prize for music.

The critical fire of other compositions showcased at the festival will take longer to determine. Yaguelles/French composer Yannis Giosskaris's *Laboratoire* was a four-hour work for 10 musi-

cians and a co-conductor. At one point, percussionist Basil Hetherington played his own body, tapping tones on his skull while reciting courted prose and cracks. Later, the entire ensemble played itself into such a fury that one by one they abandoned their instruments and began playing electric power tools.

Laboratoire's threatening fit easily into the theme of the festival's symposium: contemporary music theatre. Another striking example, a Canadian opera called *Chroma*, was an integrated media work featuring the music of Benjamin Britten, two dancers performing the choreography of Billie Leonard and a light sculpture by Bob-

ert Mader. Under constant projection on plywood cut-outs, *Chroma* was a kind of performance, a delicate mosaic of sculpture, light, dance and electronic music.

Montreal's weekend still neither approached the scale of composers are enjoying. Last weekend's performance by the National Arts Centre Orchestra at Salle Claude Champagne featured works from Poland, Great Britain, Japan and Canada which revealed a newly sophisticated and dynamic music scene. Many composers used Japanese-style repetitive rhythms and freely tuned percussion instruments, including *Lovely Gold*, a piece by the late Canadian composer Claude Vivier.

Last week, the festival concluded its Montreal performance as well as the way to accomplishing the ISCM's goal of uniting audiences to, and building interest in, new music. David Jaeger, producer of CBC Radio's *Two New Hours*, commented that the festival drew a healthy 50-per-cent attendance rate, while Montreal's audience reached an astonishing 75 per cent. The CBC has been broadcasting most of the Toronto portion of the festival event, which, said Jaeger, "has brought new music to a great many listeners and given them a chance to listen and compare." For hundreds of years, classical music adhered to strict guidelines of form and style. Now, for the sake of experiment, anything goes, leaving the audience in a state of critical isolation. The result is that some music was being experienced or exhibiting or at times, just plain boring. But World Music Days confirmed that a sensitive listener looking a path into the unfamiliar territory could discover new sources of musical pleasure. —BERNARD BUDGE



Karen Kish, son, and his brother Jacob sitting on the floor in a living room, looking at a television.

BEHAVIOR

Parents without partners

By Jane O'Hara

Jane O'Hara grew up in Montreal and Halifax in the 1960s with an older brother, a mother who stayed at home and a father who worked in a bank. It was a conventional arrangement at a time when such television series as *Father Knows Best* and *Omniscient* idealized the virtues of traditional family life. But O'Hara accepted the message rampant in the weekly adventures of the Andersons and Nelsons: families on the TV screen were made up of both the dream and the norm. In 1968 she married a journalist and settled down to a life divided between becoming an actress and raising two children. But when her marriage ended three years ago, so did her dream. Now O'Hara, 39, lives with her daughters, Kathleen, 25, and Alexandra, 23, near Mahone Bay, N.S., supporting herself by working part-time in a library. She still remembers the pain of her breakup. "I felt I had betrayed the American dream of the nuclear family," she said. "I felt I had betrayed my kids."

Variations on O'Hara's experience are evident all across the country and in ever-increasing numbers. When 40-

year-old Vancouver psychotherapist Maria Jacobs and her husband separated in 1973, she had an overwhelming feeling of guilt and stress. "I felt like a quitter and a failure," she said, adding that at the time she believed that a traditional marriage was the best way to raise her daughter, who was then 5. Now, both the reality and the TV reflection of family life have changed. Series including the recent *One Day at a Time* have recorded these changes and acknowl-

edge that separation, divorce and single parenthood are commonplace. The people caught up in those experiences and in juggling work and family life as they try to raise children on their own range from thousands of ordinary Canadians to the most famous single parent in the country: Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

Statistics show that traditional family patterns have altered radically in the past 15 years, in part because of such

changes as the 1969 liberalization of Canada's divorce laws and the huge influx of women into the labor market. Canada's *Lost Parent Families*, a recently released study by Statistics Canada, showed that 11.5 per cent of Canada's 4.3 million families are now headed by single parents, and the government agency predicts that the figure will rise to at least 15 per cent by 1996. Behind the statistics are men and women who are divorced or separated or whose spouses have died.

As well, they include single women who consciously choose to bear and raise children without having married (pater 46). During the past 10 years, in fact, single-parent families increased by half, and there are now 714,000 parents without partners in Canada. Eight out of 10 of them are women, and many families without fathers live in poverty. Those families in particular have had to undergo a major reorganization



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real arrangements with babysitters or place their children in private homes whose owners or residents charge as much as \$25 a day to look after each child.

Beyond financial hardship, there are often severe emotional costs in raising children alone, and experts say that many people in that position suffer from the physical and emotional stress of trying to juggle full- or part-time careers with their family duties. In Fredericton, elementary schoolteacher Carol Anne Thigle recalls that returning to the University of New Brunswick in 1979 to begin a bachelor of education program was particularly difficult because she could only study after her two young sons had gone to bed at 7:30 p.m. last night. "It took me twice as long to do everything... but I managed." And

fewer wife meets her during the rest of the week. In Podlisk's two-bedroom apartment on Sanguin, he prepares dinner for Megan and himself and later plays with her for two hours before putting her to bed at 8 p.m.

Podlisk is one of a growing number of men who have sole custody of their children. David Baxter, an associate professor in the school of social work at the University of Calgary, noted that women were 88.1 per cent of contacted custody cases between 1971 and 1981. But Baxter: "There is where society makes some assumptions about the roles of men and women." Baxter himself is divorced and the father of a nine-year-old boy who is living with his former wife. He also belongs to Exhale (Alberta), a 60-member group dedicated in part to gaining better access to their

right shared with men, like women, toward that adjusting work schedules and parental responsibilities in their single state was the most difficult adjustment they faced. And, like many single mothers, most men who filed in a court-mandated admission that they did not feel that society accepted them. One man wrote: "How many other freaks are there out there like me?"

Many men reported that they were lonely but not that they believed they would find another partner. Baxter, while noting that 75 per cent of divorced men and women do remarry, said that many did so because it was difficult to raise children as inadequate government support. Clearly, social relationships for single parents are complicated. When Podlisk, for one, dates women, he emphasizes that he is part of a package deal

that includes his daughter. David Podlisk: "I am always evaluating how my child and my female companion are getting along." And in Halifax, elementary schoolteacher Davis has not played into romance. Since her marriage broke up, David Davis: "I have only had one serious relationship since my husband. He and my daughter got along fine, but it was hard for her when we broke up. It made me very cautious about bringing someone too deeply into my life until I was really sure about him."

Most single parents did not deliberately seek out their current status. But once the initial shock of separation or divorce is over, the use of old reasons for living is fairly certain: ensuring the survival of the next generation—assure itself. Ten years ago, Colleen Kowalik from Calgary recalled, she never once imagined herself as a single parent. She admits that the assumption remains: having a partner to share special family moments, but says the kinds of competition when he manages to solve family problems without falling back on tradition. "Every day I feel that I am playing new ground and putting things together in a way I hope will work," Kowalik said. "But there is nobody in my past to show me how they did it. Single parents are pioneers."

With Mark Butler, Grace Luckman and Brenda Butler in Vancouver, Robert Leger in Calgary, Jane Murphy and Robert Black in Toronto, and David Baxter in Montreal and Chris Reid in Fredericton.



David and daughter, part of a package deal, social relations for single parents may be complicated.

when Janet Burkhouse was facing the strains of her separation from her husband, seven years ago, her daughter Kathleen, then only 8, helped by looking after her younger sister. David Kathleen: "I knew my mother was in the process of re-organizing her own life so I helped run Alex. I would also come home and cook dinner and take a shower. When I think of it, it was pretty weird."

For his part, Walter Podlisk, a 31-year-old sociology student at the University of Calgary who now custody of his three-year-old daughter, Megan, last March, admitted that he is suffering from the same stress. David Podlisk: "I'm always tired. It's just none work." Each weekday morning Podlisk takes Megan to the day care centre at the university and picks her up at 4 p.m. on Mondays and Fridays (his

children for separated and divorced men. He was other members of Exhale and four similar groups across Canada—are hoping that the new Conservative government will reverse Bill C-34, which the former Liberal administration introduced last spring but never passed. Among its provisions making both divorce and joint custody easier.

Clearly, as the proliferation of groups such as Exhale shows, many men are aware of their parental responsibilities, want greater involvement with their children and welcome the opportunity to compare their lot with men—and women—living under similar circumstances. A recent four-page questionnaire in the U.S. magazine *The Single Parent* (circulation 500,000) drew responses from 1,152 single fathers in the United States and Canada. The mar-

A declaration of female independence



Martens and son: A novel mixture of ancient desires and newfound independence

In 1982 Hildegard Martens, 34, was struggling to decide whether or not to have a baby. What finally helped to make up her mind was a book about British suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst, who, in 1926, sustained and 45 years old, flouted the strict moral code of the times and bore a child. Said Martens: "If someone could do that in the 1980s, then I thought it would be a real option for me to consider." Martens, a sociologist, now lives with her 15-month-old son, James, in her own house and supports him on a salary of more than \$30,000 from her job with the Ontario government. Despite the occasional disapproval of other people, she does not regret her decision. Said Martens: "I am very happy with James. A great part of me has been fulfilled."

Martens did not need to look back 60 years for a role model. She is one of a growing number of women who have decided to realize their dreams of motherhood with nothing but the Heloise aid of a father, according to Benjamin Schlesinger, a social work professor at the University of Toronto. Although there are no studies devoted exclusively to deliberately single mothers, the number of babies born to unwed mothers over 20 has increased 300 per cent since 1976. Schlesinger and his wife, Rachel, a women's studies professor at Toronto's York University, say that only a small minority of these women have deliberately chosen to become single mothers. The professors attribute the women's

decisions to radically changed attitudes in society and, especially, to a newfound economic independence among working women.

Mothers single by choice stand out dramatically among the much larger group of unwed mothers, most of them teenagers, who did not plan their babies, according to the Schlesingers. Benjamin Schlesinger said that most of the mother-by-accident, who number more than 30,000 in Canada, drop out of school to raise their children and live in poverty, or depend on their families. By contrast, deliberately single mothers are independent women with a long-standing desire for motherhood and the means to back it. Said Rachel Schlesinger: "These are older women, established in their careers, who are choosing to have children on their own. They have the economic independence to make child care arrangements."

Martens worked her way through university, eventually earning a PhD, and her subsequent career did not allow for a family until she was 40. Now she can afford a nanny to tend her baby while she is at work. She refused to discuss the arrangements she has with the father but said that the standard him all financial responsibility and he has no contact with their son. She relies on male friends to provide occasional role models for James but she says that she hopes her love for him will help to compensate for any sense of loss that he may experience. Said Martens: "He is very much a

wanted baby, and that should be much more important than any problems he might have to face because he doesn't have a father. I don't think it necessarily has to be a big trauma for him."

Still, concerns about potential problems in James's future inspired Martens to select the names of other mothers in similar situations on a local radio program. One who answered was Heather Conrad, 36, also of Toronto, a registered nurse earning \$27,000 a year whose daughter, Kate, is now 7. Conrad said that when she discovered she was pregnant, she knew she wanted the child but decided against informing the father, a casual acquaintance who was about to leave the country. But a friend persuaded her to change her mind, and now she feels that she made the right decision. Said Conrad: "I had to do it, because now my child has a claim to him. People have a need to know where they come from. If I had not told him, that would be half her heritage that she could not understand." Conrad said that Kate's father regularly writes letters to their daughter from abroad and that Kate's dealings toward him have warmed as she has grown. Said Conrad: "Right now she is not troubled by it at all, but I am sure that will change."

Miss Lee (a pseudonym), 33, is a single mother by choice who runs against the pattern of financial security. She supports her three-year-old son on mother's allowance payments of \$500 per month and shares a four-bedroom apartment in a housing co-operative with a female lover who also chooses to have her baby, now 4, out of wedlock. Despite financial problems, she expressed no regret at her decision to have the child. She admits that she told the father she was physically incapable of bearing children. Said Lee: "I knew this person would not be a very likely father but I didn't know anyone who would be." In fact, he has remained aloof. Added Lee: "I still feel really good about it. What I regret is lying to the father."

Although many sociologists argue that the phenomenon of women who opt to be unwed mothers owes much to the feminist movement, it has paradoxically helped to revive the more traditional theory that women have special needs. Said Lois Leshemmer Davis of Columbia University in New York City: "There is such a thing as an internal bubbling, an arousal, a tug for a baby that is an instinctual need to reproduce." But Rachel Schlesinger disagrees. Said Schlesinger: "What we are seeing is simply the reality that women have become independent."

—ROBERT BLOCK

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Dr. Spock's guide for single parents

By Ann Walsley

Dr. Benjamin Spock, the 81-year-old American pediatrician and famous baby book author, has been at the center of controversy for most of his career. His classic *Baby and Child Care*, originally published in 1946, has helped to mold two generations. If it still irritates conservatives who feel that it is too permissive. And in recent years the book's emphasis on the domestic role of women has angered feminists who contend that Spock is too traditional in his approach. Now Spock has once again challenged conventional wisdom with his provocative views on single parents. The man who once championed the family unit has dismissed studies that have concluded that children of single parents suffer irreparable emotional wounds. Although many of his colleagues remain skeptical, Spock says he believes that good parenting is not a numbers game. Said Spock, "It is not the quantity of parents that counts, but the quality of parenting."

Impeccably dressed in a blue pinstriped suit and pearl-grey tie patterned with the disarmament peace symbol, Spock told *Modena's* last week that his views on single parents, which will be published this spring in the latest edition of his book, are consistent with the opinions that helped to raise the baby-boom generation. Said Spock: "My whole idea is to make parents as comfortable as they can be. The way to do that is to feel people, but to tell them remaining things. It is perfectly possible to raise healthy children in poverty, with a sick parent or even an absent parent." Spock explained that because divorce is so common and so much less scandalous or embarrassing, children now adapt more easily to a single parent.

Spock does not discuss studies that detail the difficulties of single-parent children. "There are fears and bad dreams, clinging, weeping, demandingness, quarrelsome tendencies and poor schoolwork," he said. But he added that the trauma usually disappears about

two years after a divorce and that the parents' attitude can overcome even the worst shock before that happens. He added: "Kids accept their parents' views. If a mother brings up her children to think that her ex-husband is a sucker, then they will think that they are part sucker too because he was their father." Still, he said, "If the mother who has custody has a sense of proportion and a sense of humor, the fact that she is a single parent will not deprive her children too much. And children make up the missing parent in their imaginations."



Spock: "It is not the quantity that counts, but the quality."

Spock's new theories have failed to convert many of his colleagues. Said Dr. Otto Weininger, a clinical psychologist at Toronto's Ontario Institute for Studies in Education: "I hate to disagree with Dr. Spock, but, although children are very flexible, the movement of the tired, harassed single parent continues to have a damaging effect." He argued that Spock dismisses the endurance of children's destructive fantasies too easily. Added Weininger: "They ask, 'Who was my father? Was I a bad child? Why do other people have two parents and I have one?'" Weininger attributed the higher incidence of reading difficulties he has observed among single-parent children to "difficulties in absorbing

what has happened to their lives." He said that the children are also more aggressive than their classmates and tend to withdraw from games and social activities. And as a result of creative parenting can overcome the continuous reminder so the lapse consciousness of the traumatic loss. Concluded Weininger: "I do not want single parents to hoodwink themselves into believing that they can do it as well as two parents."

Other psychologists agree. Said Dr. Graham House, a psychiatrist formerly with Children's Hospital in Boston: "It is very difficult for a child to develop normal attitudes toward others later in life if from the age of 3 to 6 he does not have both a mother and father with whom he can internalize intimate feelings toward the parent of the opposite sex, since at this stage of development, and these feelings need to be diluted and modified by countervailing feelings about the other parent." Dr. Arthur Capray, a psychologist with the C.M. Huxley Treatment Centre in Toronto, which specializes in child therapy, agreed that older children whose parents require them to double as surrogate mates against their own needs are likely to develop a sense of weakness or vulnerability and believe that he has to remain strong for his parent."

Spock acknowledged that two compatible parents almost always provide a healthier environment for children than a single parent. "You need a spouse to help analyze problems and get reassurance, in any you are spelling a child or pulling him too hard," he said. "But a single-parent home is still better than one in which parents are snapping each other with fists or telling pips or insults." Still, many child psychologists say that the doctor's reluctance to emphasize the harmful aspects of single-parent families is, to use a phrase he made famous, just a phase.

Wick Jane Rogers in Toronto



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A place to rest in peace

When they first appeared in Japan in 1981 the public responded by dubbing them "coffin hotels." But the pejorative name did not reflect the Japanese people's generally favorable reaction to the latest form of high-density housing: wacky, instead of normal rooms, contained tiny sleeping

tubes barely large enough for a single bed. Now Japan has 17 coffin hotels, with an average 96-per-cent occupancy rate, and a Texas entrepreneur has invested \$900,000 in the hope that thousands of tired travellers held over at airports will soon be snuggled in the domestically made sleeping tubes which

he is currently introducing to the North American market. He is not offering a room with a view, but Charles McLaren, president of Houston-based Intermar Inc., says he is convinced that although North Americans traditionally have space, they will rent his rooms. Said McLaren, "there is a need for these bunks. And I'll tell you what, they are a lot better than a hard-backed chair and yesterday's newspaper."

McLaren, 40, frankly describes his new product as "a bunk bed with walls on it." But really it's a long, narrow, air-conditioned tube made of plastic and covered with fire-resistant foam. It measures eight feet long by four feet wide and four feet high and is equipped with either a stiff fabric curtain or a chair with a back. A foam mattress occupies the whole floor, and its walls contain a telephone, TV set, intercom, radio and alarm clock—but no windows.

McLaren is among his coffin virtualists at North American airports, where they will be built into motel-type structures with separate showers, tables and saunas. He said that travellers will pay about \$12 for a four-hour rest in a coffin hotel while awaiting flights. After spending \$500,000 developing the idea, Intermar is now manufacturing the tubes and has entered discussions with Los Angeles International Airport. Over the next five years his company plans to produce 6,000 tubes which he expects to sell for \$158 million.

But interest in the tubes is not restricted to airports. Intermar is negotiating with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, which might use the tubes to house illegal immigrants awaiting deportation. And last month McLaren displayed his tubes in Washington at the request of the Pentagon, which is considering them to house Persian Gulf inside crews in Europe while they are on duty. He says he is also negotiating with the government of Kuwait, which wants the tubes to house expatriate workers that McLaren even says that by far the most unusual plan for the tubes is that of Saudi Arabia: no government needs accommodation for pilgrims visiting the holy city of Mecca.

Despite the fact that Japanese people are on average smaller and more used to crowded conditions than most North Americans, McLaren is confident that his tubes will catch on here. Said McLaren, "Some folks might be frightened of claustrophobia, but they need not worry. There are so many lights, bells and whistles on the walls of this thing that you don't get any feeling of being trapped inside. It's getting them through the front door that is the problem." But at six feet and 230 lb., the burly entrepreneur is living evidence that it can be done.

—WILLIAM LUTHER in Washington

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BEHAVIOR

Defending strange faiths

By Ann Finkelman

Each year thousands of young people across North America leave their homes to join unusual and often secretive groups. For the parents of those estimated 2.5 million devotees worldwide, the experience is almost inevitably shattering. By some accounts it is emotionally disastrous for the joiners as well. Most outsiders, rarely bothering to distinguish among the groups, label them "cults" and consider their members to be misguided, if not brainwashed, fanatics. Often they view the cults as sinister threats to mainstream society. But Toronto child psychiatrist Dr. Saul Levine, who has studied 15 groups, including the Unification Church (Moon's), Hare Krishna and Scientology, and has interviewed more than 800 members of 20 unorthodox religious groups over the past 15 years, says that they are largely benign and that they often serve a useful function. In a book published this month, he says that most joiners eventually return to their families and that almost all of them are



LEVINE: DEVOTEES RETURN TO NORMAL LIFE

able to resume their interrupted lives with increased inner strength. Levine's view challenges those of experts who maintain that joiners never truly recover from their experience in radical groups, if they leave them at all. In *Radical Departures: Desperate Devotions to Growing Up*, Levine contends that more than 90 per cent of group members return home within two years of joining and that almost all of them abandon their groups and succeed in resuming normal lives within the middle-class world they had renounced. Saul Levine: "So short, they are their radical departures to grow up." Levine, who is head of psychiatry at Toronto's Sunnybrook Medical Centre and a professor of psychiatry at the University of Toronto, and that his research showed that "radical departures" occur almost exclusively among unmarried middle- or upper-class young people between the ages of 18 and 26. The vast majority are white and well educated, and most of them come from intact families and have parents who have raised them conscientiously. He said that the joiners are not markedly different from their peers except in one respect: they all suffer from low self-esteem. Levine believes that it is precisely the middle-class norms on which they have been raised that make joiners vulnerable to radical groups. Argued

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Levine. "Middle-class culture strongly believes that to be a successful adult, a child must separate from his family and establish his individualism." But he added that no Maenner or Rosenzweigist, before joining, had been able to break away from the family to everyone's mutual satisfaction.

The psychiatrist, whose name recently appeared in a news story in the U.S. magazine *Psychology Today*, also criticizes the popular view that devotees are tricked into joining. He said that instead, radical groups carefully screen new recruits, looking for potential mem-

bers who will embrace the ideals that the group espouses. Added Levine, "The screening process is so accurate that while only one in 500 of those originally approached chooses to join, those who do usually stay at least six months." The recruiting process, which almost invariably rejects runaways, young children and those with severe emotional problems, produces joiners who are utterly receptive to the group, according to Levine. He maintains that he has never seen evidence of the "brainwashing" techniques.

Levine's portrayal of many groups as

basically benign, even if their leaders are unscrupulous or engaged in illegal activities, has enraged many professionals. Said Toronto psychiatrist Dr. Andrew Malcolm, author of *The Tyranny of the Green: "Cults can be dangerous, and my colleagues' suggestion that they are not is irresponsible 1980s paragon."* Added Ian Havers of the Toronto-based Council on Mind Abuse, which has dealt with more than 10,000 calls since 1979, many of them from parents and former cult members. "Dr. Levine is a fine doctor, but I don't think he knows the first thing about cults. People don't join cults willingly; they are brainwashed."

But Levine, who acknowledged that some of the groups he studied were necessarily exploitative or advocated lawless behavior, insisted that most accounts of their activities are exaggerated or sensationalized. He said that a group's rituals and ideals may be painfully naive or patently ridiculous, but they are not often psychologically or physically damaging. And he added that young people are most likely to join a group that in some way conforms to their parents' professed ideals.

While Levine's analysis offers hope to the families of joiners, it also blames middle-class parents who, he says, expect too much of their children, give them contradictory messages about independence and frequently react unfavorably when they learn that a child has joined a group. But Levine's harshest criticism is of parents who hire "deprogrammers" to forcibly—and often illegally—rescue a young adult from a group he has willingly joined in an attempt to reverse the alleged brainwashing. Levine, who advocates counseling for joiners who have left or are thinking of leaving their groups, says deprogramming can lead to psychological damage.

Levine acknowledged that radical departures are unable to judge the competence of their leaders and that they are "initially vulnerable" to their leaders' dogmas but maintained that most of the members are safe, well nourished and happy. The last course for a concerned parent, he declared, is to find out as much as possible about the group that the child has joined and, if it is engaged in illegal activities, to seek a civil injunction to restrain him. Said Levine: "Criminal behavior by a group or its leader is no different from criminal behavior within society at large and is equally liable to prosecution." That may be cold comfort for dove parents whose children have dropped from sight, but Levine's overriding message is more reassuring: most joiners do come back and, he said, they "progress into middle-class adulthood in a way that seems nearly indistinguishable from the progress of their contemporaries." ☐



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The Beverly Brothers
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Little in pop music sounds more distinctive than the mellifluous, country-rock harmonies of The Beverly Brothers, which have influenced reports of rock, including The Beatles. The return of Dan and Phil Beverly to recording after 11 years' absence for more than nostalgic celebration: their new album, *ABR*, is a spirited recommitment to Paul McCartney's lively new *On the Wings of a Nightingale*. The Beverlys sing with a joyous kind of rejuvenation. Producer Dave Edmunds (Rockpile, Sting) provides a knowledgeable approach to the tough, rocking *Danger*, but an overdose of sentimentality sinks the plaintive ballad *The Story of Me*. Despite some lapses in arrangements and Dan's occasional ill-fitting lyrics, the harmonies of the Beverlys ring throughout.

TONIGHT
David Byrne
(Capitol)

David Byrne, rock's gruff chameleon, has turned another box, this time to moodier shades of blue. After the mainstream success of last year's *Let's Dance* album, Byrne can afford to be self-indulgent. Still, *Tenacious* suffers from inconsistency. The title track, the best of five written with or by his musical fellow-traveler Iggy Pop, reverts to playful Latin rambles and wares, leaving heart. But Pop's rugged effort, *Don't Look Down*, sounds intimate with Byrne's tin, fading voice. Where his last album glowed with confidence and passion, *Tenacious* only flickers.

ANTHEM
Black (Dove)
(J&R/C)

Since Bob Marley's death in 1981, reggae's detractors have criticized the music for its monotony. One truly innovative exception is Jamaica's vocal trio Black Uhuru, whose militant album of three years ago, *And*, won praise for its entrancing harmonies and hypnotic rhythms. Its most vibrant virtue was that landmark recording, *And*, an extraordinary, up-to-date electronic effects. *And* on the *Pen*, a protest song about conditions in African nations,

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features following horns and a synthesizer that roars. A raunchy guitar soloists Michael Ross's vocals on the absurdly pandorous *What a Life?*, but that scorching's increasingly buoyant beat and otherworldly whoops and whirrs make the music wicked and likable. The highlight, however, is the group's exciting version of Solidarity, by Bruce Springsteen sideman Steve van Zandt. With its universal message and musical echo effects, it is a far more rousing anthem than the sobering title track.

SWEET ANNY Diana Ross (A 1)

Since leaving Motown Records for a little over three years ago, Diana Ross has been searching for a number 1 song. On *Sweet Anny* she pulls out all the stops, enlisting help from such musical heavyweights as Lionel Richie, David Hall and Jeff Beck. She lends the waters with songs by Boyz II Men and Bob Dylan, and even All of Us, her summer hit duet with Spanish crooner Julio Iglesias. But Ross wastes her energies. Her soaring, willowy soprano is usually lost on synth-the arrangements of lame pop tunes. We Are the Children of the World sounds like a sugary soft drink as sweet as *Amore*. We lack the urgency of the 1985 original by Pamela Ross. Only the wonderfully wicked *Nobody Knows Me Crazy Like You Do* and *Touch by Touch*, a buoyant pop power song to Latin percussion, transcend the disposable quality of the album. For Ross, the search for her next hit must go on.

ALL TIME RAGE Guns of Public (R.S./14)

Fans who mourned the passing of The English Beat, the frantic British dance band, are sure to greet its new incarnation as General Public with enthusiasm. Formed by singer-guitarist Dave Wakelam and innovative vocalist Ranking Roger, the five-member Public starts with the Beat's potent mix of pulsating rhythms and romantic-social concerns—with urgency thrown into the bargain. Not You're Cool Means Wakelam's voice with pulsing organ riffs, while horns and electric-scratch guitar on Annas complexed Roger's razor-edge vocals. The cheeky double meaning in *Mother of Fact*—"seeing red is a sign of the times"—and the hope and outrage of *Day to Day*—"silence longer must get stronger"—best capture the group's passion and political urgency. Clearly, for General Public, making music is as much to do with survival and subversion as with dancing and diversion.

—NICHOLAS JENNINGS



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Attacking breast cancer

Breast cancer strikes one woman in 11 in North America, and treating it effectively always involves surgery, although doctors no longer attempt radical mastectomy (breast amputation) as readily as they did a decade ago. In part, the use of sophisticated new drugs to retard the growth or recurrence of breast cancer has allowed doctors to avoid the drastic alternative of mastectomy. And in the very near future doctors will be able to use even more remarkable drugs, some of them genetically engineered, for better control and detection of breast cancer. Although one U.S. activist, who was instrumental in halting the severe of radical mastectomy, claims that U.S. doctors have become "chemo-crazy," the treatments offer new hope that is unprecedented in the battle against breast cancer.

One of the most promising new drugs now in use is called mitomycin. Dr. David Stewart, a medical oncologist and clinical researcher with the Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation in Ottawa, said that the drug has

shrunk breast tumors in some patients to less than half their original size. Like most anticancer drugs mitomycin is poisonous to cells that are rapidly growing and dividing. But because anticancer drugs also attack healthy cells, they almost always cause severe side effects,

Despite charges that U.S. doctors are chemo-crazy, the new drugs offer great hope for cancer sufferers

which can include nausea, vomiting and hair loss. Stewart said that mitomycin is valuable because it produces much less severe side effects. But in five years there is a new generation of drugs that is currently under development may make improved drugs such as mitomycin obsolete. Because they will be much more specific in their attack, the new drugs will cause fewer side effects

and may even be able to eliminate cancer growth altogether.

The most exciting of them make use of monoclonal antibodies. Antibodies are proteins produced by the body's immune system which recognize disease cells from the nature of molecules on the cells' surfaces, seek them out and destroy them. U.S. researchers have produced genetically engineered copies of antibodies that specifically seek out breast cancer cells.

The idea, according to Dr. Gregory Curt of the National Cancer Institute (NCI) in Bethesda, Md., is to use them to carry radioactive chemicals to cancer cells like guided missiles delivering warheads. Researchers have already used the method to carry a slightly radioactive chemical "tag" to cancer cells so they could be seen on a radiation detector. Said Curt: "It was shown in a cancer patient that you could spot disease in a single lymph node that for all the world looked normal." It will be at least two years before doctors will know whether they can routinely detect breast cancer that way. But once the technology is proven, doctors expect that they will be able to use it to treat cancer by using the antibody "missiles" to kill cancer cells with microscopic radiation doses too small to affect neighboring cells.

Other researchers are racing to develop different kinds of "magic bullets" for



Curt trying to perfect a "magic bullet" for seeking out and killing cancer cells

cancer treatment. Dr. Robert Fildes, president of Cerus Corp., a California biotechnology firm, said that his company is spending \$6 million this year to develop new monoclonal antibodies that will recognize monoclonal antibodies with poisons so powerful that a single molecule could kill a cancer cell. Said Fildes: "The main therapy would be surgery, followed by a cleanup of cancer

cells with the innovations." He says he expects that, with luck, Cerus will begin marketing the drug by 1990.

Until then, most drugs that are effective against breast cancer will be more like aspirin than magic bullets, and their greatly increased use has caused controversy in the United States. Rose Kushner, a Washington-based writer who spearheaded the mid-1970s drive to

eliminate unnecessary use of radical mastectomy, believes that U.S. doctors often use chemotherapy indiscriminately, which unnecessarily subjects women to its often major side effects. Kushner told *Maclean's* that self-killing chemotherapy has replaced mastectomy as the "therapeutic overkill" of the 1980s. She charged that doctors frequently develop drug regimens, or "protocols," based on no experience other than the latest medical papers. Added Kushner: "I object to the fact that they develop up protocols over the animal, and then go out and try them on people."

Kushner is a member of the U.S. National Cancer Advisory Board and author of a new book on breast cancer called *Alternatives*. She said that Canadian doctors are more conservative in their use of chemotherapy and added, "The U.S. medical community is unique in the world in the way they are throwing out garbage around." But the U.S. medical community is also unique in its sophistication and is leading the world in developing new drug regimens that may make conventional chemotherapy unnecessary. Said Curt: "It is a very exciting time." Although the new techniques do not guarantee breast cancer cures, they carry unprecedented promise. "The technique has awesome potential. We just have to work the kinks out of it." —Dave Sawyer

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Labrador's noisy wilds

In the summer of 1988 the darts above northern England and the Channel electrified the world and helped to decide the future of Europe. Now, Britain's Royal Air Force and West Germany's Luftwaffe are first allies in NATO and, since 1988, have been providing low-level tactical training out of the

Canadian Forces station at Goose Bay, Labrador. West German and British pilots fly their Phantom, Alpha and Tornado fighter-bombers at up to 500 mph, barely skimming trees and lakes, honing skills they would need to slip beneath the radar defences of Eastern Europe. But the activity has earned

them new enemies among the native people of Labrador and neighboring Quebec, who charge that the swarming roar of the aircraft terrorizes families living in the bush and distresses the wildlife they hunt for survival. This month, the nation plan to take their protest to the Canadian, British and West German governments, as well as the UN. Said native spokesman Peter Penashue, who lives near Goose Bay: "The return of these jets will destroy the integrity of our people."

Complicating the issue is the fact that the members of the Naskapi and Montagnais tribes, who call themselves Innu, claim they own much of northeastern Quebec and neighboring Labrador and insist that they never relinquished any rights to the wilderness that they have wandered for centuries. They hunt and camp throughout the country between nine permanent settlements on the north shore of the St. Lawrence and two in the interior of Labrador. And they include in what they say is their territory two large blocks of air space that the federal government of former Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau authorized for low-level military exercises. Said Penashue: "Our objective is to put an end to this. We want to make the point that we are a people and we want a say in what goes on in our country."

To back up the protest, the Innu National Council has documented stories of children who were so frightened that they slept from their parents when the jets thundered by as low that their exhausts rippled the water. Penashue quoted one man, whom he did not name, as saying that children who never before showed fear are afraid to play outside their tents this fall. Said the man: "All the people who go into the country are in the same situation, and all the animals just hide away."

Similarly, many white hunters from the central Labrador mining towns of Labrador City and Wabush, who annually charter bush planes to hunt caribou on the northern barrens, say that the roar of low-level jets is turning the 300,000 caribou of the George River herd north of their customary paths and away from the right name. Raeland Alanna Driver, president of the Labrador West Caribou Hunters Association "It used to be like a big ranch in there. Now it is like a big desert. Last year I saw three caribou in eight days. This year I saw none. If somebody had told me this a few years ago, I would have laughed at him." White hunters are allowed to shoot two caribou a year each in the sparsely populated wilderness. Their association wants the refinery to eliminate the jet's northern flight route to encourage the caribou to return farther north. But if they are successful,

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the training exercises will be more concentrated in the area that the Inas occupy and could increase their complaints about harassment.

Lt.-Col John David, commanding officer of Canadian Forces station in Goose Bay, said responsible for covering the allied training in the area, said that he is "very sympathetic and very anxious to accommodate" civilian interests, but added that he has no power to halt the flights. For Canada, the training represents a not-nice contribution to NATO and a way to underwrite the upkeep of the base, which has long-term strategic value.

Transport Canada air regulations warn that low flying can result in "serious consequences" to wildlife, including broken bones, exhaustion, increased vulnerability to predators and reproductive disruption. The regulations forbid pilots from flying below 2,000 feet in sensitive areas, but those rules do not apply to military pilots. Because the best training grounds, especially river valleys, coincide with Inuit Indian campsites, it is unlikely that David will be able to alter the program to placate the native people. He added that if the Inuit base their objections on their claims to sovereignty over the area, he will be powerless to negotiate. Basil David: "If they want to take their position, I cannot deal with them."

Ironically, the station at Goose Bay was established in the early years of the Second World War as a staging point in the desperate attempt to supply aircraft to the war faster than the Luftwaffe could shoot them down. And to many residents of the town and the surrounding area, which has never fully recovered from the economic collapse that followed the closing of the U.S. Air Force base at Goose Bay in 1975, the noise of aircraft is still the sound of money. Unemployment among youth in the area is 58 per cent for men and 45 per cent for women. Although there was a maneuver of 50 German Phantoms, six German Alphas and eight British Tornados, deployed that season, flown by approximately 30 two-man crews, many residents support the prospect of increased military activity. Happy Valley: Goose Bay Mayor Henry Shewan said that it is the town's "biggest hope" for development. "Send Skunk." The airport is still the lifeblood of this town.

For their part, the Inas are not concerned about protecting their few unpopulated villages as much as they want to protect a wilderness that is larger than West Germany. Said Piuskwa: "The military says that it will avoid our communities, but the camps are our community. That is where our people live fully."

—LORRANCE JACKSON
in Happy Valley, Labrador

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Dethroning a deadly king

Malaria kills more people than any other communicable disease, and efforts to eliminate it have led to some of the most frustrating failures in medical history. Two hundred million new cases occur each year, and a million people die from it in Africa alone. Ten years ago the medical world dismissed the development of a malaria vaccine as impossible. But on Aug. 2 two U.S. researchers announced that they had developed a vaccine that could be widely available as soon as 1989. And at last month's International Congress for Tropical Medicine and Malaria, held in Calgary, researchers from Great Britain and Australia reported progress toward two more vaccines to combat *Plasmodium falciparum*, the most deadly of the four species of malaria parasites. In Calgary, scientists expressed hope that a combination of the three vaccines could be the one vital weapon needed to eliminate the disease. Said Sir Gustave Nossal, Nobel Prize winner and director of the institute developing the Australian vaccine: "If we could eradicate malaria, we would be killing one of the

worst enemies of our species."

Currently, the only way of treating malaria is with drugs such as chloroquine—a synthetic version of quinine, first derived from the bark of the Chinese tree in 1820. But the complex life cycle of the malaria parasite has made

Three separate malaria vaccines under development promise to subdue the king of diseases

the development of an effective vaccine extremely complicated. From the time it enters the body after the bite of an *Anopheles* mosquito, the *Plasmodium* parasite changes form. There are, therefore, three forms the parasite assumes during its life in the human body, each one of which is susceptible to attack only by specific antibodies produced by the body's immune system.

Each of the three vaccines currently under development is designed to suppress the work of antibodies at one of the three different stages of the parasite's development. The first vaccine, developed by the Birk Beasomweg, her husband, Victor, and their team of associates at New York University Medical Center, were the first to announce success with a vaccine that is designed to prevent infection by attacking the malaria parasite at the earliest stage in its development to cause. Dr. Robert F. Anders, joint head of the malaria team at the Walter and Eliza Hall Institute in Melbourne, Australia, told the conference that their vaccine is designed to control symptoms and reduce death in people already infected, particularly children and pregnant women. For his part, Dr. Geoffrey Snegoff of the University of London described the third vaccine under scrutiny as an "alternative" vaccine. Said Snegoff: "It will not do the infected person any good, but it will stop transmission of the disease."

The vaccines concentrate on the brief periods when the parasites are vulnerable to attack by antibodies. The Nossalweg breakthrough came when they discovered how to produce copies of the protein that stimulates the production of specific antibodies when the parasite first enters the bloodstream. Normally, these antibodies are unable to destroy the parasite before it finds safe



Nossalweg (seated), husband, Victor (far right), and malaria team pioneers

haven in the liver, where it takes a different form. But by stimulating production of antibodies before infection occurs, the synthetic protein in the Nossalweg vaccine will decrease the odds of the parasite reaching the liver alive.

The value of the Australian vaccine will lie in its function as a safety net in

case the first-stage vaccine fails. Said Nossal: "If the Nossalweg vaccine misses just one bug, then the second bullet would still hit it before the symptoms appear." Nossal and his colleague Bill said that their vaccine will also ease the suffering of malaria victims, reducing the violent fever that is characteristic of malaria to perhaps only a

transient headache. The Australian team hopes field testing in three years. Added Nossal: "We are a year or two behind Britain, but the end of the decade is not an unrealistic time to expect us to have a ready vaccine."

Scientists at the congress, however, were cautious in their assessment of the vaccine because no one yet knows their cost or stability, how they should be administered or how often. And congress president Max Miller, an honorary professor at the University of Calgary medical school, warned that introducing the vaccine to developing countries will be a major problem. Said Miller: "People here are grabbed by the glamour of these vaccines but overlook the fact that unglamorous solutions are responsible for a lot of health improvement."

The benefits of that approach became evident in the late 1950s, when the World Health Organization nearly succeeded in eliminating malaria by using similar techniques, including synthetic quinine and the insecticide DDT. But the disease struck back when the mosquitoes and the parasites they carried developed immunity to insecticides and drugs. With the new vaccines coupled to better control programs, scientists are finally confident that they will soon be able to dethrone what they call "the king of diseases." —SUSANNE ZWERNER in Calgary, with Nancy Johnson Smith



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The case of extra dues

Since its formation in 1980 the 60,000-member Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU) has been a small but intense force in the part of the Canadian labor movement. Standing firmly outside the two-million member Canadian Labour Congress, the CCU has consistently embraced the policies of national unions that represent Canadian workers but maintain headquarters in the United States. The radically nationalist group insists that the international unions trust their Canadian members' loyalty and recognize their interests for the sake of U.S. interests. Last month the federal government provided subsidies to the CCU elections when it released a controversial report showing that international unions collected as much as \$57 million more in dues from Canadian members than they spent in Canada—a discrepancy that the CCU said represented profits. Said CCU secretary-treasurer John Lang: "These reports show the real reason why U.S. unions are operating in Canada."

The figures released under the Confederation and Labour Unions Research Act (CALURA), showed that unions with headquarters in the United States collected \$577 million in dues from Canadian members in 1980 but spent only \$50 million on salaries, strike benefits, pensions and welfare. Although spokesmen for the international unions said that the assessment of expenditures was incomplete, Lang countered that no addition could account for the staggering \$527-million figure. Said Lang: "For every Canadian worker belonging to a U.S. union in 1982, \$46 of union dues went directly to the United States and stayed there as profits. That is blatantly unfair." He said that the figures are merely the latest evidence of a longstanding trend.

For their part, international union leaders claim that the CALURA figures distort the nature of their services. Said Thomas Perkins, communications director of the British Columbia

Federation of Labour, which represents 80 locals of international unions affiliated with the CCU: "CALURA has been universally condemned as inaccurately, methodically assessed and unreliable." He said that a more accurate survey, which included expenses such as office rents, depreciation on fixed assets and CCU membership fees, would yield opposite results. Added Perkins: "It must stress the international unions' need to spend more money here than they get from dues."

Both sides of the controversy in the awaiting next year's CALURA report, which will include a more extensive breakdown of expenses that the \$57-million gap has shown that at a time at which nationalism is out of favor in Ottawa the issue can still expose deep divisions in the unity of the Canadian labor movement. It came into prominence again late last month when Lynn Williams, president of the United Steelworkers of America, backed congressional demands for U.S. quotas on imported steel. Although U.S. President Ronald Reagan did not impose quotas, as many as 1,800 Canadian steelworkers could have lost their jobs had he done so. Williams' decision to support the quotas of his Canadian members was typical of the behavior of U.S.-based unions, according to Madeleine Parent, unions organizer and former national vice-president of the CCU, Said Parent: "These Canadian union members have no power of decision on matters important to Canadians."

The CCU's contempt for foreign unions extends beyond rhetoric to a policy of making their Canadian locals in order to recruit new members into its ranks. In 1982 the CCU-affiliated Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical and Allied Workers (CAIMAW) raised three locals of the steelworkers' union at Cominco Ltd.'s mine and smelting operations in Trail and Kimberley. Despite CAIMAW claims that it had signed up a majority of workers, the British Columbia



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ba Labour Relations Board ruled against a certification vote because the union had exceeded the time it allowed for signing up new members. If successful, the raid would have added some 4,000 new workers to the CIO's 34,000 membership list of 15,416. The CIO's most controversial raids were directed against the Sydney steel local 848, which failed, but the practice has irritated competing unions, who feel that the CIO should devote more time to organizing nonunion workers.

The CIO has also had to fend off accusations that its affiliates lack the bargaining power necessary to achieve good contracts and that it maintains inadequate strike funds. Last month striking B.C. transit workers, whose union is affiliated with the CIO, were forced to appeal to the public to help fill the union's depleted fund bank. The CIO replies that its affiliates make up in tactics what they lack in financial backing and points to the financially sound I.W.O. local in Sydney, which, after 64 years, has yet to establish a union bail fund and deliver no pay to its workers when they went on strike three years ago.

With a membership that represents only one per cent of organized labor in Canada, the CIO's rhetoric will continue to exceed its effectiveness. Still, the renegade group considers itself extremely successful. Long pointed out that, in 1970, 50 per cent of organized workers in Canada belonged to foreign-based unions, compared to 41.9 per cent today. Competing union leaders often agree that the vocal nationalists have played a positive role in reforming the labor movement in Canada. Jean-Claude Parrot, president of the unionized Canadian branch of Postal Workers, said that the CIO will continue to grow and to provide changes within the CIO. Said Parrot: "The CIO has forced workers to be more aware of the issues and forced the international unions to be more careful with the Canadian unions." The next recent reform came late last month when the steelworkers union, meeting at its annual convention in Cleveland, Ohio, voted to support the construction to allow its Canadian director to set a separate national policy.

Meanwhile, the most potent weapon in the CIO arsenal remains its charge that U.S. unions extract \$60 million in profits annually from Canadian locals. The international unions expect that the next reformist CIO report will vindicate their defense, while the CIO is equally confident that it will further substantiate the profit-taking charges. Whatever the outcome, it is certain that as long as the CIO exists, its sharp point will ensure that the line of Canadian labor will continue to creep.

By Ann MacKinnon
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Hunger on the Horn

Last month Ethiopia spent almost \$50 million marking the 30th anniversary of Marxist rule, but a familiar spectre haunted the official celebrations: the drought-stricken Horn of Africa. Following the country's leader, Lt.-Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, joined the revolution that deposed Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, his government declared that various international aid agencies threatened the country would suffer a catastrophe rivaling the 1973-74 famine when 300,000 Ethiopians died. In the decade since a coup removed the Lion of Judah from his throne, drought and starvation have been yearly occurrences in the 40-million-person African nation. And even the arrival of 150,000 tons of food this month under the United Nations World Food Program will do little to ease the current crisis. The reason six million people are hungry because spring rains failed and the drought spread into the high-altitude, north to the normally fertile southern



Drought refugees in the Ogaden desert: a catastrophe rivaling the 1974 famine

province of Sidamo. Ethiopia says it needs 490,000 tons of food aid by year's end, but the misery of famine extends to other areas of the continent. The spring rains were also seasonally light in Kenya to the south, spreading the drought to that country, killing 7,000 cattle and farming 1.2 million Kenyans to seek food from a government famine relief fund set up last

June. As a result, a country that was almost self-sufficient in food production has asked the international community to help feed its population for the first time, asking the UN to include it on a list of 14 drought-stricken African states. In response, the United States, for one, has granted Kenya \$15 million in food as part of its American aid program that will send 14 million tons worth \$260 million (US\$) to Bob-Suhman Africa this year. Ethiopia's share of that assistance amounts to 50,000 tons of food. For its part, Canada is sending 500 tons of aid to Ethiopia and Kenya.

But feeding the hungry in Ethiopia is more complicated than simply shipping aid to a poor country drained by continuing terrorism wars in Eritrea, Tigray and the Ogaden desert regions. Many relief workers cite the lavish spending on the 18th anniversary celebrations, including banquets for foreign dignitaries, as proof that the government is not sufficiently concerned with feeding the people. Indeed, St. Peter McDermott, administrator of the Agency for International Development, the U.S. body overseeing American food donations, has accused the Ethiopian government of closing its airports to shipments of emergency aid, giving priority instead to shipments of fertilizer and cocaine from the Soviet Union.

The drought-stricken areas are even harder to reach, and in Keren, 600 km north of the capital, relief workers reported that 30 children a day were dying at a Save the Children Fund aid station. Despite their differences, the aid workers and government officials agree on a single stark prediction: unless more food reaches the parched interior of the country, many more children will die in the Horn of Africa.

—SELANA TITTELIN, St. Nairobi

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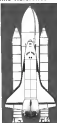
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BOOKS

A writer shows and tells

FINDING THE CENTRE TWO NARRATIVES

By V.S. Naipaul
(California, 309 pages, \$19.95)

For the past decade the expatriate Hindu Trinidadian novelist V.S. Naipaul has been one of the English-speaking world's most elegant and clear-sighted guides to the contemporary fates of former colonies. His travels have taken him from Latin America (*The Return of Elia Perez*) to the Indian subcontinent (*India: A Wounded Civilization*). In *Finding the Centre*, he has written two "personal narratives" that try to take the reader behind the scenes of his art. That is in itself an admirable project, because the writer's craft has been subjected to almost as many unimpartial mythologizations as has the Third World. Too often, writers wrap a phony wish doctor's spell around their trade, transforming research trips into epic journeys and describing the act of composition as a kind of inspired trance.

Armed with his habitual lucidity, Naipaul brilliantly avoids such pitfalls. The first of his two narratives, "Prologue to an Autobiography," concerns his early life in the Hindu community in Trinidad and the history of the inner events that enabled these beginnings to present themselves as material for literature. The crucial moment occurred when he was 12, scratching out a preposterous living as a freelance broadcaster in London with the Caribbean Service of the BBC. He recalls sitting in a "sweaty crutch" at a typewriter in the freelancers' room at the Langham Hotel, writing a sentence describing the morning routine of a fickle taxi driver on the street where Naipaul had grown up. The sentence grew into *Musée Street*, his first published novel.

Naipaul also gives a moving account of how he inherited his writer's vocation from his father, a controversial reformer-journalist tragically caught between the demands of the traditional culture of his Hindu family and those of his literary ambitions. As he read his father's stories in the Trinidad *Gleaner* about beleaguered Indian laborers, Naipaul almost unconsciously found his calling—and a point of view familiar to most Caribbean readers with non-Anglo-Saxon roots. There is the same intense involvement in disputed British culture and an almost identical sense of the raw, undefined nature of experience as a *tabula rasa* returned from the centre.



Naipaul: the inner life, with zest

While Naipaul's first essay deals with the interior transformation of memory into literature, the second, "The Chronicles of Yemasseeckers," covers the process of venturing into unknown territory and trying to make sense of what he sees. "To arrive at a place without knowing anyone there," writes Naipaul, "is to find oneself in constant readiness for adventure or revelation, to allow oneself to be carried along up to a point by accidents and continuously to follow up other impulses—that could be as reckless and magnificence a process as the writing that came after."

In the account of his visit to the former French colony of the Ivory Coast, Naipaul demonstrates once more his acute sense of acute distinction among societies which are trouble to most Europeans and North Americans. He notes how a West Indian Paris-educated woman who fondly owns a restaurant menu reveals her sense of cultural superiority to her native African writers and how African breadwinners there wish to have their speech, with ease and resonance. Such concrete details and images tell far more than statistics.

To convey the inner life of each culturally alien society as Trinidad and West Africa is a task of sufficient difficulty. To achieve that, and at the same time to show the reader how it is done, is little short of astonishing. —NORMAN DENKER

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It's the word of quality, the word of the world.

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The Hario Tweed Advertising, Stirling, Scotland

From hippiedom to patriotism

By ZELLD

By John Gray
(From Publishing, 245 pages, \$18.95)

The opening sentence of John Gray's first novel, *Desired*, is "I was an asshole in 1974." The delivery of English stage aside, it is a compelling introduction to the story of Willard, who used to be what he said he



Gray: the hallucinations of American experience

was—but is no longer. Willard, an idle graduate student who considers it beneath his dignity to wash the breakfast dishes while his wife, Maude, works all day as a dental assistant, is the central character in an admirably ambivalent, funny novel set in Vancouver in the early 1980s. In *Desired* Gray tells, with only partial success, the story of how and why 1980s idealists came to grief a decade later and how some of them—Willard, for one—managed to scrape through to the 1990s with at least a few of these values still intact.

To re-create time and place with all their nuances is almost as challenging to an author as creating believable characters. Gray comes equipped with formidable experience and some success on both fronts, but in a different medium. The transplanted Truro, N.S., writer, now living in Vancouver, is the author of three semi-real stage productions—in *Whores*, a wry ode to truckers, *Rock and*

Roll, a musical about a Maritime rock band, and the internationally successful *Billy Bishop Goes to War*, a drama about a First World War fighter are which was the Governor General's Award in 1982. In all three productions Gray took his audience into a highly idiosyncratic world and made such come alive. But in another medium and another world—full of aged Vancouver hippies—Gray has lost some of the intensity of his art. *Desired* falls victim to too many cute premises and too many rhetorical overtones. The result is a surface glide through an era familiar to most readers rather than any dramatic insight into it.

To use one of the few pieces of 1970s vocabulary not found in the book, Willard is going through changes. It all begins during a terrible domestic scene brought on by the undecorated breakfast dishes. Winded, who without knowing it is in the first flush of feminism, orders Willard out of the house to get a job. He immediately finds himself selling polyester suits in a yuppie shopping mall, something to anyone stalled in what Gray calls the "glorious, stately decline" of the 1980s.

The rest of the novel concerns Willard's strange odyssey through the summer sunbake, a wrecked marriage, a desperate state of living in a commune with "a steady stream of hairy denizens" from what was left of Vancouver's psychedelic subculture, a nervous breakdown and even through an attempt at cultural assembly. He and a friend subvert the local television stations in an effort to

rid Vancouver of U.S.-dominated broadcasting. In effect, Willard journeys through the decade ending up not only a soldier, winter man but also a successful dealer in used clothing. But the journey could have been more interesting. Willard is not the way he is as a result of a central character flaw—the stuff of which most great novels are made—but as a result of U.S. cultural imperialism and the tendency of Canadians to buy "the hallucinations of American experience" interpreted with those somewhat tedious pronouncements are some grossly funny cultural observations. Of the 1980s Gray writes, "There aren't many areas where a mediocre person can prosper simply by growing his hair." Such lines, and a steady stream of incoherence, prove that although *Desired* does not quite live up to its title, Gray himself has lost none of his humor.

—JUDITH THORNTON

Ignoring fame and fortune

Now that he has written a novel, John Gray says, this is the first year he considers himself a writer. Despite that proclamation, Gray, the actor and Governor General's Award-winning writer of the hit musical *Billy Bishop Goes to War*, has already become one of Canada's most financially successful playwrights. At 38, he has recently finished his fifth major stage production, *Don Messer*—a musical about the star of CBC's long-running country music show, *Don Messer's Jubilee* (1958-1969)—which opens in Halifax in January. And he is also executive director for the *King of Friday Night*—a re-creating television musical about small-town Nova Scotia based on his successful stage play *Pool and Roll*.

Said Gray, who says that this week's publication of *Desired*, his first novel—about the 1970s behavior of Canadians who reached maturity in the 1960s—marks a significant milestone in his career. In 1968 Gray left Truro, N.S., for Vancouver, which has been his primary residence ever since. But Gray insisted that *The King of Friday Night* be filmed in his home town (it will be shown on CBC in April). Said Gray, "Truro has not changed since 1968. Even the wilderness are the same."

Gray's primary skill is his ability to make ordinary Canadians—from waitresses to aspiring tavern hostesses—come alive by drawing on his own experience and memories. *Desired* captures a time when Canadians were exploring an identity crisis. A writer in exile at the time, he recalled, "just talking about war in a country that was at peace and worshipping the ground that was walked on by ideologues, drug-addict employees of American record companies. Suddenly we realize we haven't been living on our own lives at all."

Canada's identity is also a dominant theme in *Don Messer*. Messer, who was an important influence on Gray, who said he resembled the fact that Canadians were embarrassed to admit that they worshipped that beautiful show was one of the most popular in the country.

Gray turns aside questions about his personal life and fortune. "When I am 58 or when I am dead," he said, "what is important is that what I have written is as possible, impossible in the sense that it was not written in order to be rich or to be famous—it was written to enable people to learn what is important about themselves." Through plays, television and now books, John Gray continues to develop that learning process.

—STEVE KROENKE

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Sullivan without Gilbert

ARTHUR SULLIVAN A VICTORIAN MUSICIAN
By Arthur Jacobs
Oxford University Press,
474 pages, \$54.95

W. S. Gilbert wrote the words and Arthur Sullivan, the best-known British musician of the Victorian period, composed the music. Together, despite temperamental differences, the two men collaborated on 14

elaborate, humorous operettas, including *The Mikado*, *The Pirates of Penzance*, *Ramsam*, *Patience* and *The Gondoliers*, which are proving to be just as popular in revivals as when Richard D'Oyly Carte's company first produced them at the Savoy Theatre in London a century ago. As Arthur Jacobs makes clear in his witty, erudite biography of the composer, the legendarily carefree Sullivan enjoyed a thoroughly busy private life and a distinguished musical career apart from his

musical association with the musical William Schwenk Gilbert. Arthur Seymour Sullivan lived actively within the reigns of Queen Victoria. The second son of an impoverished army bandmaster, he competed as a composer, by the 1850s of London, when he was only 6, became a chorister at the Chapel Royal at 12 and won the first Maudeville Scholarship to the Royal Academy of Music in 1856 at 15. That led him to the Leipzig Conservatory, where he composed the students' music in Schubert's *The Wanderer*, which received great acclaim at the Crystal Palace in 1862.

Although only 38 when he died, Sullivan's output was prolific. Still, his most serious competition, which earned him accolades while he was alive, are forgotten now, except for the military anthem *Onward, Christian Soldiers*. Throughout his career critics and friends honoured Sullivan's sacrifice of art to pop, but it was Sullivan's ballads and theatrical scores that paid the bills and supported his passion for gambling and travel. And it was his long collaboration, begun in 1871, with Gilbert that made his reputation immortal. Sullivan never married but he had a number of amorous relationships, including a lengthy and passionate affair with the lovely American divorcee Mary Frances Rossini. He died in London on Nov. 22, 1900, of bronchitis worsened by chronic kidney malfunction.

Sullivan's widow, Herbert, and Sir Newman Flower produced the "official," authorized biography in 1927. The two men committed numerous errors in transcription from the composer's letters and diaries and they never mentioned his sexual and gambling habits, discreet to a fault, they never disclosed that the composer once lost a year's earnings in one night at the gaming tables. But in the past two decades many of his papers, previously held privately, have passed into public hands, making a new assessment not only timely but gratifying. Jacobs, a British music professor and historian, has admirably made the life of Sullivan accessible to both the scholarly and general reader.

Jacobs is particularly adept at describing Sullivan's relationship to his era and to his circle of acquaintances, which included Alfred Lord Tennyson, Rudyard Kipling, Charles Dickens and the Prince of Wales. Members of the aristocratic circle made him and the music and money to indulge in cultural pastimes. They were also sufficiently educated to appreciate Gilbert and Sullivan's social and political satire, even when the laugh was on themselves. For the audience, Sullivan was, in musical, social and cultural matters, the very model of a modern English gentleman.

—SANDRA MARTIN

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Short circuits in a wired life

CHASING THE DRAGON

By Cathy Smith

(Key Porter, 688 pages, \$36.95)

Catherine Evelyn Smith, drag actress, alcoholic, and reform groupie, begins her book with a tired explanation: "I want to tell my side of things as honestly as I can, in the hope that someone might learn from my experiences." Then she crosses the scordid life she's about to detail by adding, "The point of my story is that what happened to me could happen to anyone." What happened to her was that in 1982 a

on Keith Richards' ability to go without sleep. And her claim that "anyone" could have led Cathy Smith's life is demonstrably absurd.

Smith's evident instability stemmed from her early childhood. An adopted child, the her older sister, Smith lived in Burlington, Ont., with a stepmother who drank heavily and spent time in hospital because of depression and a stepfather whose best advice to her when she got to school at the age of 16 was to take up drugs. She was a 17, Smith had an affair with the drummer Levon Helm. She became pregnant, but Helm



Smith and lawyer Brian Greenhouse shadow confessions from an obsessive fan

famous comedian died after a work in her company. Smith's subsequent interview in the U.S. tabloid weekly *The National Enquirer*, headlined "I killed Richards," which she does not mention in her book, led to her indictment in California on 13 counts of furnishing and administering controlled drugs and one count of second-degree murder. The State of California is still trying to extradite her from Toronto, which may be why Smith—so glib elsewhere—is notably tightlipped on the circumstances surrounding the comedian's death. She admits only to "the gift that came from not having been more centre of what was really going on."

But because of John Richards' death, Cathy Smith, 37, has achieved celebrity status after 30 years of roaming with the stars and walking in their shadows. She merges, the publishers write, "from the best of the fan generation, a young woman," making "panda" attempts to rebuild her life." But personal insights elude Smith, and her book will appeal only to those who crave intimate details about Gordon Lightfoot's rage

refused to support the child, whom she eventually gave up for adoption.

Smith moved to Toronto, where she met and slept with some prominent local rock celebrities and a major Hollywood actor. She lived with Lightfoot for almost four years, and *Chasing the Dragon* hardly accounts her alleged misadventures with him, country-and-western singer Hoyt Axton and The Rolling Stones' Mick Jagger. "I was at the top to be an vicious living hell," But the Stones once tried of her. By then, Smith was over 30 and, she recounts, "the sense of shame was strong, and it was beginning to feel like a punishment by the time." It had taken 15 years.

Chasing the Dragon—the term means hence—is a seamy chronicle in which Smith never attempts to analyze anything. Writing about the last few days she spent with Richards, she recalls that "it was just another Hollywood party that last week with John if I had had such a tragic ending, it would hardly be worth remembering." On the basis of Smith's shallow and tawdry account, neither is she. —BARBARA REICHEN



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Tragedy and titillation

MURDER AT THE MET

By David Black
(Bookends, 366 pages \$21.95)

The police and the media called it the Phantom of the Opera case. On July 23, 1980, Helen Mirzika, a 30-year-old violinist who had grown up on a farm near Vincennes, disappeared during intermission at New York's Metropolitan Opera House. Craig Crutcher, a 31-year-old stage carpenter, confessed Mirzika's abduction, dragged her down to a basement stairwell, successfully tried to rape her, forcibly led her up six steps to the roof, cut off all her clothes, bound and gagged her, then showed her down a 20-foot ventilator shaft to her death. These are the rudimentary, gruesome details. But David Black, a New York journalist who has written a "sensation novel" version of the case, titled *Murder at the Met*, is not content with the basics.

Black's book—primarily an account of the two-man police investigation that led to Crutcher's arrest—opens with such lurid descriptions of the murder and autopsy that there are grounds to suspect not only the killer's motive but the author's as well. He finds it necessary to point out that Mirzika's "legs

were shoved up to her thighs, where there were long, fatty hairs," and that her intestines contained "potato peel, string beans, cucumber, tomato slices, onion." Black seems to be doing his utmost to horrify the reader so that when the press later sides with an apparently normal Crutcher—who pleaded not guilty although he had made a tape-recorded confession—the reader remembers the victim and shoulders Or perhaps Black is simply trying to entertain.

The author reserves his most generous sympathies for the two New York detectives at the center of the story, Mike Strah and Jerry George. Like almost from a television cop show, Mike and Jerry begin their partnership as bitter rivals and end up as best friends. As they pick the killer out of 200 potential suspects and cunningly extract a confession that will stand up in court, Black serves as their ghostwriter, guiding their legend with dirty stories about

the good old days on the vice squad. The investigative itself seems for suspenseful reading, but after Crutcher's confession the trial comes as an anticlimax. Although Black says that the media turned the event into "a legal soap opera" by depicting Crutcher as a working-class victim of police harassment, an conviction of second-degree murder never appears to be in any serious jeopardy. And in retrospect, even the manhunt involved more labor than intrigue. Take away the grisly nature of the crime and what remains begins to look like a legal story, one that would collapse without Black's sensational first aid.

Since Truman Capote created the sensation documentary crime novel with his classic *Ice Cold Blood* in 1966, that narrative form has degenerated. *Murder at the Met* is undeniably compelling, but in the most sordid way. Like a cheap tabloid, once started it is hard to put down, and when finished it leaves a distinctly unpleasant aftertaste.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Mirzika: grimy crime



Mur. from: notorious imagination, revealed courtship and severely behavior

FILMS

Pleasure in love's pain

SWANN IN LOVE

Directed by Volker Schlöndorff

Five minutes into German director Volker Schlöndorff's *Swann in Love*, based on Marcel Proust's monumental lyrical novel, *Remembrance of Things Past*, the film's central—indeed, only—point is clear: Charles Swann (Jeremy Irons) has lost his reason as a consequence and taste of mid-19th-century Paris's finest art scene. Behind suffering face, his former admirer programs judgment: Swann, caught in the grip of his passion for the courtesan Odette de Crécy (Olivella Merli), has become a bore.

Swann in Love, a month-long episode in the first of Schlöndorff's seven lefty volumes, is a promising choice for a film adaptation. In its levity it crystallizes the theme that obsessed Proust through the 17 French years of writing he devoted to the novel: the bitter clash of desire, imagination and experience within the human heart. Swann falls in love with the shallow, selfish Odette because she resembles his favorite Beethoven portrait. His traitorous imagination turns a courtesan into the incarnation of the otherworldly beauty for which he yearns, and the betrayal costs a fearful price.

Sadly, Schlöndorff chooses to renege on this, and finally, on the life of Swann's story. The film chronicles a single, particularly gruesome day in Swann's tormented courtship. He is enthralled, Odette is bored. Although she still needs the large, crisp bills he discreetly deposits on her mantelpiece, she has less use for his embraces. Swann, reduced by jealousy, suspects she is being unfaithful to him. Flashbacks relating the story of their relationship postpone Swann's pursuit through the thicket and cul-de-sacs of Paris. The result is other confusion.

The problem is that Schlöndorff has substituted post psychology for Proust's insight. Fueled by the 19th-century notion that the staid surface of Victorian life concealed a cauldron of seething sex, Schlöndorff presents a Swann who is a textbook example of repression. As Swann, Irons seems alternately pained and embarrassed by his character's unmanly behavior. Whether resting through the rhododendrons under Odette's window or growling at her in bed, Swann seems to convey a message of anger: Swann, his performance is curiously limited.

In the film's last-forward ending, a corrupt, aristocrat, Baron de Charlus (Alain Delon), tries to reanimate the film. Sharing a peak bench with the mortally ill Swann, he delivers epigrams on the wisdom that experience brings and on the value of remembrance. But his words only reveal how little Swann in *Love* stars the heartiest scene where he has just played a leech.

—HEATHER HENDERSON

Bloodshed and a haunted bed

CAL

Directed by Pat O'Connor

Politics, sex and religion, an ancient trinity of agonies, have long bedeviled the Irish. They, in turn, have developed a genius for turning them into art. In *Cal*, which Irish writer Bernard Mac Lennox adapted from his 1983 novel, the contemporary horror of Northern Ireland is the documentary ground for a Roman Catholic teenager's introduction to terror, love and ambiguity. Politely demands that young Cal become a driver for Crilly, a Provisional Irish Republican Army contact, so takes him into the arms of the widow of a policeman Crilly gunned down, and religious, fueling lusty, puts him out as the street after Protestant toughs burn down the house he shares with his father. Cal's response to the lusts and goodness is one of facility rather than vengeance. He tells the ma repeatedly, "I want out."

But there is no escape for anyone in Irish director Pat O'Connor's severely austere film. O'Connor spent three years at Toronto's Ryerson Polytechnical Institute and has passed it off encouraging him to demystify the art of film-making. O'Connor uses Mac Lennox's tightly written script and the gritty documentary style of cinematographer Jerry Schindler to fashion a story that carefully demystifies the cult of killing in Britain's most violent province. Much of the strength of the film comes from the supporting cast, including Desmond McCallan, a distinguished actor from Dublin's Abbey Theatre, as Cal's father, Shamus.

Cal (John Lynch) tries to extricate himself from the life, but he cannot extricate himself from guilt. He is incapable of telling the policeman's widow, Maureen (Helen Mirren), that he drove Crilly to the family farmhouse to shoot her husband. The murder haunts their lovemaking, which is intercut with flashbacks of Cal's approach to the farmhouse door. O'Connor seems as bullet-still as the policemen's brick, and the damp under of the lovers is strangely juxtaposed with Crilly screaming, "Barn, you bastard!" as he reaches their bedroom.

Love, growing in the shelter of Cal's deception, is unable to conquer despair and violence. He returns from the barren of the farm into town to buy Christmas presents for Maureen, and encounters Crilly—played, with stunning subtlety, by a student who has just played a leech.

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Orlitz threatens Cal into taking a car ride with Staffington, a local IRA boss, played with sowing chaos by John Kavanaugh. A shootout with British soldiers follows, in which they kill Staffington and capture Orlitz. Although Cal escapes and returns to Maroufa, a tragic resolution seems inevitable. Waiting for the police to come to arrest him, Cal struggles to tell her the truth while she strains to avoid learning it.

O'Connor tells Cal's story without moralizing, a difficult feat in a land rife by prejudice and superstition. Production designer Stuart Craig, winner of an Oscar for *Gandhi*, picked locations in the Republic of Ireland because he felt shooting in Northern Ireland could be hazardous. But he has captured the feel and color of Ulster. British soldiers in green fat jackets, Orangemen in saffron parading with huge drums, the gold snarling of a Gaelic speaker on Staffington's lapel. But, paradoxically, the film's documentary realism curiously weakens its emotional impact. The desire to demystify the role of O'Connor of the chase to explore the tragic, indeed mythic, depths of an inescapable love—an Ulster Romeo and Juliet. Although Mirren's powerful performance won her the Cannes film festival award for best actress, she is miscast. The woman she portrays appears to be at least 10 years older than the character in the book and she cannot manage the innocence a younger woman might have brought to the part. Still, Cal's message to capture the suffering Irishman, whose love is so often in threat to politics and religion.

—CY JACOBSON

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *The Fourth Protocol*, Fitzhugh (1)
- 2 *First Among Equals*, Archer (2)
- 3 *The Aquitaine Progression*, Ludlam (3)
- 4 *The Day After* (1)
- 5 *Tough Guys Don't Dance*, Mosler (3)
- 6 *Joe: A Comedy of Justice*, Rivlin (3)
- 7 *And Lather on the Clock*, Sawyer (3)
- 8 *The Wika*, Lombardo (3)
- 9 *Strong Medicine*, Masley
- 10 *Full Circle*, Steele (3)

Nonfiction

- 1 *The Frontiers Land*, Brown (2)
- 2 *Leaving Each Other*, Sussopola (2)
- 3 *In Gods Name*, Shipley (1)
- 4 *The Year of American Dreams*, Thomas and Morgan Watts (4)
- 5 *Waggoner*, Jones (2)
- 6 *What They Don't Teach You At Harvard Business School*, McCormack (4)
- 7 *East to West*, Moss (1)
- 8 *Wired: The Short Life and Fast Times of John Belushi*, Whiteland (3)
- 9 *Sex and Deceit*, Greer (3)
- 10 *The March of Folly*, Tuchman (16)

(1) Publisher best seller



Warren: Looking for love, and finding seduction, deception and disaster

A cocktail of sexual fantasy

CHOOSE ME
Directed by Alan Rudolph

The scene takes place late straight in a Hollywood bar called Eve's. The voice of a singer, full of yearning, drifts out the door into a dim and profitless street that looks like a theatre set. Inside, everyone carries a drink and a fantasy—and because *Choose Me* is a movie in which Los Angeles is both the setting and the state of mind, all the fantasies come true with the arrival of Mickey (Kurt Courradine), a handsome drifter with a mysterious past. He claims that he has just escaped from a mental ward and that he is on his way home to Las Vegas. "But nobody's from Las Vegas," says an unwelcome woman at the bar. "I am," Mickey says, with a calm, ambiguous smile.

Mickey is either a pathological liar, a compulsive romantic or both. Courradine's smooth performance walks the line between the two. He keeps asking women to marry him, including the owner of the bar, Eve (Lindsay Ann Warren), a bar giddy, Pearl, played with redemptive dignity by Rae Dawn Chong, and a radio phone-in therapist called Dr. Nancy Love (Genevieve Bujold). But both Eve and Love have a problem with romance: Eve has too many men and not enough love, and the repressed doctor Love has all the answers and not enough men. So, under an amazed name, Love moves into Eve's home and, when strangers come calling, she answers the door. One of them—and at that point the

dreams to sexual fury—is Mickey. He ends up and with Love—and it is love with Eve. The morning after, the feverish prim doctor is back on the radio, extolling the joys of spontaneous sex to her devoted listeners.

The best things about *Choose Me* are a sly script and breathtaking performances by all the main characters. The dialogue, which has the terse pacing of a crime novel, is full of the sort of one-liners that have generated "New on town?" the bartender asks Mickey, who replies, "None. Same as ever. Town's different." Courradine manages to embody the paradox of a liar who always tells the truth. He sits in the eye of the camera like an alert, intelligent lizard, and his focused intensity keeps the incoherent fantasist from flying apart. Bujold is original and funny as the schizophrenic Love, and Warren does her best with the rather victimized role of the standard neurotic, looking for love and living with isolation.

Director Alan Rudolph (who was to L.A.) has taken several small risks with his film, and they have worked well. The music, composed and sung by Teddy Peabody, performs the role of a supporting character as it flares into passionate and then strident in a low, blue flow of jazz. The design of *Choose Me* is strong, almost to the point of self-parody, with posters, paintings and a claustrophobic aura of chic. The result is an idiosyncratic comedy full of seductions, deceptions and fantasies—just like any smoke-filled, moon-lit, night club.

—MAJOR JACOBSON

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The annual brain transplant

By Allan Fotheringham

The best venue for the annual brain transplant is an atmosphere entirely foreign to the fervered body that would insist a jurisdiction where the rhetoric does not count, where someone is heard a great release word, and the skies are not pearly all day. A place well away from button-down shirts, button-down minds and talk of who released the leak that resulted in the fiasco that produced the revelation about the cheating scandal that proved to be four-fifths of non-trials of event-elling-out.

The way to do this is to retreat to a home that is out of Thomas Hardy the bookie pleasure of the south of England, the country that pierces in the most evil cities is Christendom and the most beautiful countryside. An altar can be erected by a single side of the left urban landscape, some billboards, some telephone poles, some fried chicken joints, nothing changed from Hardy, nothing that assaults the eye, everything that betrays the soul.

The essence is the christening of a girl child. Then, in the company of Kent, in the village of Westwell, is a tale of no more import. Large holm oaks—the living lord winding on weary way—held up more staves on the narrow, hedge-cropped lanes, their olders hanging like bagpipes as they force at sundown the discomfited driver into the verge.

It is a better diversion than wrestling with an expense account. Dario waddle about, and everywhere one looks there are sheep, like small boats bobbing on the rolling waves of the green Kentish downs. It's walk-out-wild sleep, a land-lord's lamb chop revenge in the lakes of cheap French wine fueled on the indignant English characters by their own-warming Common Market social "partners".

The main concern is the groggy match at The Wheel in the Westwell pub. The groggy match is played in the evening, after much better, on the undulating lawn in the

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pub's garden. It is "bat-and-trap" as an old English game recently revived to the extent that there is almost no pub league. It is entirely removed, involving hauling one end of a catapult so as to toss a ball into the air, hitting it on the fly and trying to drive it through the goalposts down the undulating lawn, which amazingly unfolds more as the best better progress. It is a game better to be experienced than described. The locals take it very seriously, almost as seriously as the foreign import, flown in at great expense.

The main talk is about the wealthy

Westwell shopkeeper who enjoys their laughter even more than their wife, is to drive out of the dining hall every single group of future customers. It is submitted as a Guinness Book of World Records mark.

As for the star of the day, the girl child, all is blind. Her grandfather's house, with exposed oak beams that go back some centuries, has a walk-in fireplace that would accommodate the entire Dallas Cowboys football squad.

The only thing grandfather appreciates more than laughter is champagne, and the relatives and friends down from London retreat to the village in his observation. Father of the girl child, famous for his abstemious taste in cheap apices, sodas, plagues and sports a pink silk tie for the occasion, an abnormal expenditure. He is an ill-paid journalist, which may account for the raised Kentish eyebrows.

St. Mary's Church of Westwell, next door to the pub, goes back to 1291, about the time the Vikings were still probing Canadian shores. It does not enjoy central heating. The children come from the bang-ropes that ring the bells in the tower. The vicar, who sees the other side of the pub, is a very and shy type who breaks off in his christening service to ask a visitor if his syntax is okay. At the christening font, older than Montreal or the Liberal party, the small children are asked to gather around and splash about while the girl child is anointed. The women wear hats. As we vacate St. Mary's four fat peasants walk past, paying no attention. It fits.

Once, viewing the landscape at 5 a.m. after a night of listening soberly to a string quartet, announced that he wished to die here (He may go to the Senate, which would be a second choice.) At the bottom of the garden is the original route of Chaucer's Pigeons Way and in a secret vault 38 bodies in lead-lined vaults, secret because lead is worth a lot these days and someone might pull a switch. Lead, trees and bat-and-trap are the important things in Kent.

The major accomplishment of the lunch, due to the rancorous laughter of the Westwell shopkeeper who enjoys their laughter even more than their wife, is to drive out of the dining hall every single group of future customers. It is submitted as a Guinness Book of World Records mark.



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